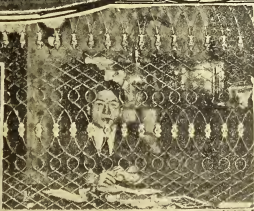


THE JAPANESE INVASION

THE MOVEMENT
AGAINST THE
DOMINANT
INFLUENCE OF
THE LITTLE BROWN
MEN IN AMERICAN
TRADES



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FOR many months the people of the Pacific slope have had an undefinable feeling that grave danger menaced this country through the unrestricted immigration of Japanese. Day by day this inchoate idea grew into form in the minds of the people, but it remained for the "Chronicle," which has been jealously watching the growing evil, to crystallize the unformed sentiment and unveil to the people of the country the danger in all its appalling aspects.

It has been shown through the columns of that paper that the Japanese have been coming to the United States in such numbers as to carry grave menace to the industrial conditions of the Coast.

These Oriental laborers are brought here under a padrone system that means the driving out of the white laborer, not only in the unskilled, but in many of the skilled trades.

With diseased bodies and depraved minds, these adult coolies have been taken into the white families as servants and given places in the public schools alongside white children.

They have swarmed over the fruit districts, driving away white labor because white men cannot live in herds, as do these contract Asiatics. They have not only driven out the white laborers, but are now getting possession of the orchards as renters, and are killing off the small owner through a ruinous competition.

They have driven white women from their usual avocations by taking their places as kitchen and house servants and by securing positions in shops where women are usually employed.

They are gradually ousting white artisans through ruinous methods of business established by the padrones, and are overrunning San Francisco with their small shops, established wherever the padrone can find an opening for a new employe.

These matters have been set forth so plainly that the Legislatures of both California and Nevada have adopted resolutions calling upon the National Congress and the United States officials to take such steps as will put a stop to the unrestricted immigration of Japanese.

Resolutions of a similar nature have been adopted by all of the important labor bodies of the Coast, and they are united in their desire to have the encroachments of the brown men prevented.

The chaotic sentiments of former months have now crystallized, and this pamphlet is designed to put before the country in concrete form the arguments presented, the steps which have been taken and necessity for united work against the incoming hordes of Asiatics, who are threatening the very stability of the commonwealth.

...OUR OPEN DOOR...

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," February 23, 1905. (Editorial.)

WITH this issue we summon the attention of the public to a matter of grave import, a matter that no longer admits of delay if we are to preserve the integrity of our social life, not only in California, but throughout the Pacific States and throughout the Union.

The Japanese invasion with which we are confronted is fraught with a peril none the less momentous because it is so silent, none the less attended with danger to American character and to American institutions because it is so peaceful. Whatever action we now postpone must ultimately be taken with tenfold force and with dangerous friction when the burden of Asiatic and of Japanese immigration, already grievous and destructive, has become still more pernicious and still more intolerable. It will be well for us to choose now the line of least resistance, to determine now and forever whether this State and this country are to be American or whether they are to be Asiatic, whether they are to continue under the sway of American thought and aspiration or whether they are to become a seminary, an abiding place and an inheritance for the Oriental peoples. To every nation, as to every individual, there come moments of choice between self-preservation and self-effacement. The former demands action, courage and resource, but for the latter apathy and indifference alone are needed.

And so the article which to-day we present to the public is but one of a series that is intended to show the reality of the Japanese danger, its imminence and its growth. We intend to show how the communal life that should be purely American is being slowly saturated with alien influences with which that communal life should have neither part nor lot and that a process so insidious and so contrary to nature has already been attended by a deterioration and by a misery that do but presage the greater ruin that must surely come. We intend to show that the laws enacted in restraint of this very evil have been rendered void by subtle evasion, and that official vigilance has been set at naught by a cunning and elaborate mechanism that grows more intricate day by day, as it grows also more effective and more destructive. We shall show the nature of that mechanism, its subtle interference with industry, with wages and with social life, and what the end of it must surely be when increased power brings increased opportunity to set at defiance American ideals and to reduce the standards of American life to the penuries and the squalors of the Orient.

This is a matter first for California and for the Pacific Coast, and secondly for the whole Nation. California stands to-day as an open door for Japan and for Asia, and when those portals have been passed, the road to the Asiatic is unbarred. The duty that California must now perform is rendered not more to herself than to the high interests of the Union to which she belongs, and it is a duty that demands vigilance and courage and the supreme will to overcome and to go forward.

From the San Francisco "Chronicle," February 23d, 1905.

WHEN the German Emperor directed his kaleidoscopic genius into the domain of art and pictorially represented to a delighted world his views upon the Asiatic Peril, his efforts were generally received as a fresh vagary of the Imperial mind. Similar forecasts had been made by others, some of whom had been even better qualified to judge, but the great Oriental Colossus slumbered on and the creeping hands upon the dial of fate gave no hint of an awakening. There was, moreover, an uncertainty about the Imperial prophecy, a nebulous mist that no one was bold enough to dissipate by an appeal to its author for more light. In what form, under what garb, was the world to anticipate the Asiatic menace? Was the invasion to be military, as had been predicted by General Gordon, or was it to be political, social or industrial, or perhaps a combination of all? Oracles having once spoken remain silent and the Teutonic oracle was no exception to the rule. The warning had been given to a thoughtless and irreverent world and the great, silent future was pregnant with its justification or with its disproof.

But America was perhaps less disposed to smile

than any other part of the world. Here, at any rate, the peril had become something of an actuality, here at least was a foretaste of what might happen on a vast and irresistible scale should the fountains of Asiatic life brim over. That foretaste had been neither salutary nor pleasant, although America may yet congratulate herself upon the timely and warning experience which had taught her to make yet stronger the frontiers of her economic and industrial life. She had learned what it meant to extend her hospitality to those who had first accepted and then demanded it, she had known what it meant to tolerate within her borders an increasing horde of men with whom admixture was impossible and whose presence was as an ax laid at the roots of her prosperity and of her national happiness. Had not America been equal to the emergency her story would already be as one that is told and her national character would have been submerged beneath an alien influence with which it could in no way mingle. That particular aspect of the peril seems now to have passed and the doors of Chinese exclusion have been closed, although not without the abiding presence in our midst of a social sore which may at least serve as a painful reminder of the living death that was avoided.

Danger After Victory.

Effort is usually followed by relaxation, and caution gives place to carelessness, and nowhere is this more manifest than in national and collective life. It has been well said that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, a vigilance that is unsleeping and sustained, a vigilance that knows alike the virtues of action and the perils of reaction. The hour of subtle danger is always the hour after victory. America, and especially California, has now to show whether the manifest resistance to one danger is to be followed by passive submission to another, and whether the forces that so successfully stemmed the invasion of the Chinese are to be helpless and quiescent in front of the far more serious and more formidable problem of an influx of Japanese.

Let there be no mistake as to our meaning. The similarity of the danger to our national institutions that is afforded by Chinese and Japanese immigration implies no imagined similarity whatever between the Chinese and Japanese races. The whole world is well-nigh united in its admiration of the energy, the intelligence and the skill with which Japan has thrown off the stagnation of centuries and the splendor of her appearance in the conclave of nations. America has expressed this admiration in no measured or stinted terms, and that expression has been hearty and sincere. America, being in the vanguard of civilization, has nothing but a helping hand and cheering words for those who will help to push the plow point of civilization and commerce ever deeper and farther into Oriental soil, but this great and humane work for the world's progress is in no way advanced, but rather retarded, by allowing Japan to pour her surplus population like a living cataract upon American territory. Oil and water do not mix, although both may be essential to the running of complex mechanism, and the elements of human society are only useful and admirable so long as they are in their fitting spheres and busy with their fitting functions. Japanese immigration is a danger to American institutions, not because it is Japanese, but because it is immigration, and the very characteristics that are an adornment to the Japanese in his own country may become a disfigurement and a peril to a country to which the Japanese does not rightly belong and from which he is essentially removed by an abyss of tradition, of custom and of sentiment.

And now we propose to glance to some extent at the magnitude of the problem with which we are nationally confronted, and to consider some of its many aspects, and we further propose to do this without exaggeration, without animus, and setting down nothing in malice nor ill will. Only in such ways can we read the riddles of political economy, the riddles that become additionally complex and additionally hopeless when mingled with race prejudice or with greed.

Let us, then, first satisfy ourselves that there is indeed a Japanese question. To the dweller upon the Pacific Coast this question is of course so prominent, so daily manifested, that it is altogether past and beyond the domain of dispute. While, however, the remedy must originate in the West we must perhaps look to the East, and indeed to the whole Nation, for its application and enforcement, and it will therefore be well to reduce the problem so far as may be to figures and to legitimate deductions therefrom. It must, moreover, be conceded that even in the West and upon the Pacific Coast public opinion is not without its inertia, which in some instances is tainted by self-interest. Asiatic immigration is a question rather for the inarticulate masses than for the chosen few,

for the workman rather than for the employer, and the voice of protest needs, therefore, a concentration and a direction that it now somewhat lacks.

Growth of the Invasion.

The figures of Japanese immigration are extremely difficult to obtain and computations vary widely. California statistics are, perhaps, more complete than those obtainable in other parts of the country, simply because the question has become more acute in California than elsewhere. California is, of course, the main gateway from Asia, and while large numbers of Japanese, the majority, indeed, remain upon the Coast, there is a steady process of filtration Eastward into the other States of the Union. The problem of Asiatic immigration which California confronts to-day must presently become the problem of all the States in the Union, and the voice of California is therefore that of a sentinel, somewhat somnolent at the moment, but a voice that is nevertheless faithful, and that ought not to be neglected. It will therefore be well, first of all, to glance at the figures furnished by the Pacific Coast and then to throw some light upon the process of filtration and extension.

The census of 1880 showed that there were but eighty-six Japanese in California. Asia was still asleep and only China had shown any recognition of the American treasure chamber that was waiting to be rifled. Ten years later the Japanese advance guard made their appearance, and the year 1890 showed the presence of 1147 Japanese within the State. They must certainly have reported a land flowing with milk and honey and dollars, for by the year 1900 there were 10,151 Japanese in California. These figures and others that are to follow are taken from the eleventh biennial report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, carefully and laboriously compiled by W. V. Stafford.

Now, after the year 1900, the statistician is confronted with some considerable difficulties. An immense influx of Japanese reaches America by way of the Hawaiian ports, and these do not, of course, come under the supervision of the immigration authorities. An analysis of the records of the steamship companies has, however, been partially made under the direction of the State Bureau of Labor, and from this it would seem that during the years 1903 and 1904, the period selected for such analysis, the number of Japanese arriving from Hawaiian ports was 7270, while during the year 1904, 672 Japanese arrived from Victoria, in British Columbia. The number of Japanese arriving at San Francisco direct from foreign ports between 1900 and 1904 was also very large and is represented by the following figures:

Years—	Males.	Females.	Total.
1900-1901	1,244	137	1,381
1901-1902	1,745	171	1,916
1902-1903	2,523	214	2,739
1903-1904	1,699	267	1,966
	7,213	789	8,002

The immense disproportion between males and females is a feature of Asiatic immigration of considerable importance, and one from which some vital deductions must presently be drawn. It will be seen that these figures, formidable as they may seem, do not include the arrivals from the Hawaiian ports for the two years 1901 and 1902, nor do they include the arrivals from Victoria for the three years ending December, 1903. Anything like an estimate of the present number is therefore somewhat conjectural, but, however conservative such estimates may be, it will still present a total of alarming magnitude. We have seen that in the year 1900 there were over 10,000 Japanese within the State; that between the years 1900 and 1904 over 8000 arrived from foreign ports, and that within the past two years over 7000 have arrived from Hawaii, and these figures alone make a total of over 25,000, while we are entirely without the statistics of arrivals from Hawaiian ports for 1901

and 1902, and from Canada for the year 1903. We may, therefore, safely assume that the number of Japanese now in California is at least 35,000, and this is still without an estimate of the Japanese who land at Puget sound and other ports on the northerly coast and many of whom reach California overland.

Numbers now in Country.

The numbers of Japanese in the United States a large is, of course, still more conjectural. We may, however, safely assume that Washington and the States north of California contain nearly as many Japanese as does California itself, and the Asiatic immigration problem is therefore as acute there as it is here. In the report of the Attorney-General of the United States for 1903 we find some estimate of the Japanese invasion, and general considerations thereon furnished by Special Examiner C. V. C. Van Deusen and the figures may well be given here, while reserving his comments for later examination. These figures are as follows:

Year.	Japanese arriving.	Year.	Japanese arriving.
1898	2,250	1901	5,269
1899	2,844	1902	14,270
1900	12,655	1903	19,968

These figures give a total of 57,216. Adding the number landing in San Francisco in 1904, we have a total of 65,084, and it is very certain that to Mr. Van Deusen's figures must be added the immigration from Hawaiian ports for 1901 and 1902 and from Canada for 1903, and these missing totals would certainly be of some magnitude and would raise the aggregate into the neighborhood of 100,000. It is noteworthy that this enormous Japanese invasion has been accompanied by a diminution in Chinese immigration. The Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that since the year 1880 there has been a Chinese decrease for the whole State of 39,379, or 39 per cent, while for the mining counties alone there has been a decrease of 80 per cent. It is therefore evident that while the Chinese population as a whole has decreased, the Chinese population of the towns as opposed to the mining districts has increased. It is, of course, in the towns that the pinch of Asiatic competition is most severely felt, and while a general diminution of the Chinese element is a matter for congratulation, the towns are now suffering more acutely from this cause than they have ever done before. So far as the towns alone are concerned Asiatic competition, both Chinese and Japanese, has, therefore, largely increased, and must inevitably still further increase so long as Japanese immigration remains unchecked ad so long as the Chinese exodus from the country to the towns continues.

Even at the risk of repetition it can not be too strongly insisted upon that all statistics of Japanese immigration are conjectural and conservative. The Industrial Commission says well when it remarks that "the number of Japanese coolie laborers in California to-day is greater than the total number of Japanese arrivals shown by the immigration records at all of the United States ports for the past ten years. How, then, came they among us? This is another Asiatic mystery. The movements, the motives, the coming and going of these stoical, strange Mongolians are as a closed book to the white races. As with the birds of passage, to-day there may not be one in sight; to-morrow they may be with us in countless thousands."

There are, however, some additional sidelights that may be advantageously thrown upon the general extent of Japanese immigration and the plans for conquest that are fomenting in the minds of those who are interested in the colonization of these Asiatic pilgrims. It may, for instance, be pointed out that J. Saiki recently passed through San Francisco on his way to Florida. J. Saiki is peculiarly, and, we may assume, peculiarly, interested in the

deportation of his countrymen, and while in this city he seemed to have communicated his plans with some candor. Mr. Saiki has already sent many thousands of Japanese to Hawaii, a place that we may now recognize as a half-way house to California, and he says: "I am on my way to Florida, where I intend to take up 6000 acres of land. . . .

"We expect that thousands of people will come out from Japan to settle it." We do not doubt it. We ourselves fully share in Mr. Saiki's expectations, and we would commend this enterprising scheme to the critical attention of the people of Florida. These "thousands of people" will, of course, land in California, and they will leave in California their maimed, their halt and their blind, as well as that large proportion of the healthy who will decide that California is, after all, good enough for them, and that those who so wish may continue their journey to Florida.

Figures of the Japanese.

Another sidelight upon the problem is thrown by the statistics of the Japanese Government itself. However faulty may be the figures of the American authorities in classifying the nationalities with which they have to deal, we may reasonably expect some accuracy in Japanese Government returns. If these latter statistics are indeed correct, the problem becomes far larger than our own figures would in any way show. Mr. Yamawaki, the secretary to the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, reports to his Government the number of Japanese emigrating to the United States and possessions during 1900. He classifies his figures as follows:

Official duty 52, students 554, merchants 2851, laborers and others \$6,689; total 90,146. This was, of course, at a time when Japanese emigration was unusually high in consequence of threatened hostilities with Russia. These figures nevertheless justify the somewhat bewildered speculations of the Industrial Commission as to the way in which these people arrive and successfully evade all record and all supervision.

Another indication of the present trend is afforded by a Japanese newspaper published in Hawaii. This newspaper rejoices in the name of the Shimpo, and so recent an issue as June, 1904, informs us that at that time 3500 Japanese "want to come to San Francisco." We do not at all doubt it, nor do we doubt that these 3500 Japanese will certainly come to San Francisco so long as the evasion of the law is made easy by interested parties. How and when they will come remains to be seen. Perhaps like Topsy they will simply grow. Turning back upon the file of the Shimpo we find other ingenuous references to the same theme. An issue of May, 1902, says: "Lately almost every steamer for the Coast carries away a large number of Japanese laborers from here. They are said to be pre-engaged to work in California orchards, beet fields or on the railroads. Several recruiting agents now in the city are affording every inducement for them to emigrate." It is probable that enough has now been said to satisfy even the most skeptical that a Japanese problem does indeed exist, that it is of very considerable magnitude, and that its gravity insidiously increases day by day. It is our purpose to enter into some examination of the nature of that problem, the manner in which it enroaches upon national characteristics, the severity of the strain that it places upon American morale, and the extent of its influence upon the customs and the comforts of the American people. These are, however, details of vital importance in themselves, but none the less subsidiary to the central fact that America is inviting upon herself a race problem of most formidable gravity and that there is still time to solve it while it is comparatively infant and

before it reaches a magnitude when it will necessarily be fraught with the gravest peril.

There is no room upon American soil for another race problem. Whatever statesmanship America possesses, whatever political and social sagacity can be furnished by her sons will be demanded and required to the utmost by the questions that are no longer infant, but that are now clamoring for solution, and that will neither wait nor be delayed. The negro problem becomes more emergent day by day, and our sons and our sons' sons will indeed be fortunate if they receive their heritage from our hands free from its perplexities and its dangers. The negro question is within our gates, and within our gates it must be answered. But are those gates to be thrown wide open in order that other and still more distressing anxieties may enter thereat? Nor is the negro question the only one that confronts the Nation. America has offered her hospitality to the peoples of the Old World, and while in the early days that hospitality was accepted by the fittest and the best, the present claimants of American shelter are, in the bulk, neither the fittest nor the best.

Seek to Possess the Country.

Day and night a vast army passes through the eastern gates of the Republic, assuming a right where no right exists, entering the country not as guests, but in order that they may possess it, and so saturated with the spirit of the tyrannies and the lawlessness under which they have groaned that there is no room within them for sentiments of order and of justice. During the year 1903 nearly half a million Bohemians, Lithuanians, Poles, Croats, Slavs and Italians arrived in the United States. One hundred and fifty thousand of these people were practically unable to read or write, and the majority of the remainder were virtually uneducated. In Chicago alone there are said to be over 75,000 people who are unfamiliar with the language of the country. In the State of New York there are about 227,000 of such people, and Texas has 100,000. They neither know English, nor do they intend to learn it so long as they can herd in their own communities, erecting barriers against cleanliness and sanitation and reproducing miniature facsimiles of the European ghettos from which they have swarmed.

Are there not, then, problems enough without going out into the fields and the highways of the world and compelling others to come in? Surely America is already busy enough washing, teaching, drilling and coercing the neglected children of humanity. The work that she has undertaken she will surely do. Of that there can be no question whatever. The negro problem will be solved, and the problems of European immigration are none the less hopeful because they are unsavory and sometimes unspeakable. The individual Slav and Croat and Pole may be a dreary failure, but his children will be as clay in the hands of the potter, and one generation will wipe away the squalor and freedom will banish even the inherited memories of oppression. But what shall we do with the Asiatic? What can we do with him? Of what avail to enumerate his virtues, if the stubborn fact remain that he will not mix nor merge, and that all the documents in the world will not make of him an American citizen? The nations of Asia are nations apart, and this in no invidious nor derogatory sense, nor do they themselves wish to be anything else. The Asiatic can never be other than an Asiatic, however much he may imitate the dress of the white man, learn his language and spend his wages for him. Nor will he ever have the slightest concern with our laws except to evade them, nor with our Government except to cajole it and to deceive it. The

Japanese in California is just as intensely, eternally and essentially Japanese as though he had never left Yokohama or the rice fields of his native country.

In America the existence of an anti-foreign sentiment would be an anomaly, as impossible as it would be absurd. American patriotism is built upon intelligence with which sentiment is allowed to liberally combine but not to interfere. America welcomes whatever will solidify the national prosperity and the national happiness, but she will never welcome those who would but reap where they have not sown, and whose only interest in the country is based upon a selfish calculation of its yield. The American test of desirable immigration—and it is a test of which no complaint can possibly be made—is the desire and the power to be assimilated. In the case of the Japanese, there is neither the desire nor the power.

General Immigration Problem.

The problem of undesirable immigration in general is one that has hitherto presented itself more particularly to the Eastern states, as the Asiatic question has more specially presented itself to the Western. New York has been the open doorway from Europe, as San Francisco has been from Asia. We have, however, now to remember that the Panama canal will place California within almost as easy reach of the European immigrant as New York now is, and we may then expect to have the double burden of European as well as of an Asiatic influx. By means of the canal Europe will look straight upon the shores of California, and the Pacific Coast will become almost as accessible to the human hordes from the east of Europe as is to-day the Atlantic shore.

In the early days of the Union Europe sent to us her best, her most energetic, enterprising and resourceful. Those days have passed by and to-day the immigration returns are swollen by the flotsam and jetsam of human life, the wreckage from the destructive overcrowding and competition of the Old World. The early immigrants went out into the wilderness and reclaimed it by their toil, and their patience and their story is the valiant story of the pioneer. Above and beyond all these things, they became Americans, throwing in their lot for weal or woe with the country of their choice. For the latter-day immigrant, Asiatic and European alike, the wilderness has no charm. He gravitates toward the slum and the tenement, where his poverty-sharpened intelligence may compete with its like, and into the sweeter of unrealized misery which he makes his home the true American workman must be surely engulfed to the loss of his dignity, his self-respect, his rightful comforts and his independence. Such problems as these loom up on the California horizon, and they will be sufficiently difficult to handle. There could be no worse preparation for them than the apathy with which we now permit the far more undesirable surplusage of Asia to make a happy hunting ground of the choicest and the richest State within the Union. In our survey of the benefits with which California will be endowed by the canal we must not forget that in their train will come also difficulties, responsibilities and social and economic problems, and it will become us to be up and stirring lest we be taken unawares, lest we be overwhelmed by dangers that will surely neutralize all the gains that should legitimately follow upon energy and determination. California was not won to the Union for the benefit of Asia, nor as a mere dumping ground for human wastes.

We have said that the question of Asiatic immigration presents itself with special force to the

Western states. This is, however, a shortsighted view and one that ought to be combated. Industrial America is one and indivisible, and the injury that is inflicted upon one State is inflicted upon them all. Any Japanese who finds employment anywhere within the United States has found that employment at the expense of an American laborer and the American Nation is thereby and to that extent the poorer. This is not, therefore, a question for California alone, but for the United States of America.

It is, indeed, very certain that if we continue for much longer to be inactive and indifferent to this new danger of Japanese immigration we shall be open to the charge that other nations have a keener recognition of American needs and perils than we have ourselves.

Close Watch by Europe.

The Japanese invasion has been watched from Europe with a very intelligent interest, and by men who have made it almost the business of their lives to note and to measure the ebb and flow of nations, their slumber and their awakening. Such an observer is Albert Metin, who writes in the *Revue Bleue* the results of his investigation into the Asiatic revival. Mr. Metin points out that Japanese cheap labor may cause much trouble in the Western world and even bring about a reduction in the wages of labor. Mr. Metin is prophesying results that have already become history. Japanese cheap labor has already caused "trouble in the Western world"; it has already brought about "a reduction in the wages of labor," and what it has already done in these directions is as nothing to what it will do when the preliminary drops of rain have been succeeded by the steady downpour. Mr. Metin goes on to point out that Japan herself is forsaking agriculture for industrialism, and that the result must be the growth of a real economic peril to the countries of Europe, and also, and particularly, to America. This warning was written over a year ago, but if Mr. Metin would now visit California, and especially San Francisco—and California knows how to welcome a French litterateur—he would find that he has indeed predicted after the result and that his prophecy has already stepped into the pages of Californian history.

Mr. Metin does not, however, confine himself to the role of prophet. He is, it seems, also something of a historian. He says that however receptive the Japanese may be, there are some things that they have learned without American aid. They fully understand what it means to syndicate themselves, and the mechanism of the strike is in no way whatever a problem to them. Mr. Metin tells us that the boycott is so well understood in Japan that an unpopular American or European would be unable to find a single workman or a single servant.

Now let those who speak much of the economic offensiveness of the Japanese be warned in time and become wise. Japanese sentiment is not yet represented by the willing servitors and the house-workers of San Francisco. The realization of strength will bring with it a disclosure of facts of Japanese character which have not yet been unveiled, although they have been allowed to show themselves in some isolated instances, both in California and in Washington, and to which it may be necessary presently to draw some prophetic attention. Let us ask ourselves what the Japanese themselves would do if the positions were reversed and they themselves had to confront an alien invasion. For such information we need not seek far. In a recent number of the *Review of Reviews* we find an able sketch of Japanese character that bears upon this very point. The writer speaks of a strong anti-foreign spirit in Japan, and he tells us that this anti-foreign spirit is withheld only from motives of policy. So recently as 1899 the

Marquis Ito said: "Whether as a consequence of our late success in arms or from other cause, it looks as though a section of the nation had become animated by an anti-foreign spirit and inspired by anti-foreign sentiment. * * What should we then say of those who in a cowardly manner insult these strangers by jostling them or throwing stones at them (the foreign residents)?" If Japan thus dislikes the mere appearance of a foreigner, what would she say if these same foreigners swarmed into her cities and her fields, dispossessing her own people, lowering their wages and destroying their standards of life and of comfort? Of one thing we may be assured—Japanese employers would unite with their own people and would scorn a pitiful addition to their own profits that had been purchased by the sufferings of their own people. There are, therefore, still some simple and economic and patriotic virtues that that American employer may advantageously learn from Asia.

Japs Cannot Complain.

Now here in California no one will think of throwing stones at the Japanese, nor of jostling them upon the streets. Even the least educated of our people will remember that here, at any rate, force is not a remedy, and that a courteous restraint always gives force and vigor even to the most drastic of measures. Nevertheless, the Japanese Government can have no cause for complaint at American strictures or at American action, in view of the remonstrances of Marquis Ito himself, which evidence an anti-foreign sentiment, which was entirely baseless, and which could have no practical economic cause for its existence. How dangerous would that anti-foreign sentiment become if there were the same justification for its manifestation in Japan as there is in California—if the Japanese had to complain as we may rightfully complain of a foreign invasion that, like the frogs of Egypt, has come into our houses, into our bed chambers, upon our beds, and into the houses of our servants, upon our people and into their ovens and their kneading troughs? Anti-foreign and entirely causeless outbreaks have been sufficiently serious in Japan. What would they speedily become if we inflicted upon the Japanese one-hundredth part of what they have inflicted upon us? Of one thing we may be sure, that an international situation would be speedily born and the genius of Secretary Hay would have one more chance for its beneficent display.

R. Van Bergen goes even further than the writer who has been already mentioned. The Marquis Ito protested against a popular sentiment that he knew to be impolitic. Mr. Van Bergen, however, says that "this anti-foreign feeling is shared equally by all classes, the Government and a very few notable persons excepted." Speech is said to be useful for the concealment of thought, and the Government and "the very few notable persons" have very substantial reasons for not yet wishing to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs.

It may, of course, be said that the anti-foreign sentiment in Japan is but the reflection from the conservatism from which Japan is just awakening. Precisely so, but it is none the less there. It is no part of our duty to condemn it, but simply to note its existence and to draw from it whatever legitimate lessons may aid in our own self-preservation. An anti-foreign feeling is an illegitimate expression of a legitimate sentiment of patriotism, and here once more we may draw a lesson from Asia. Nor is it likely that the anti-foreign sentiment will disappear within the present generation. No doubt the Japanese could be taught, and probably have been taught, not to throw stones at foreigners, at least at Americans, and to refrain from jostling them upon the streets. The sentiment that inspires these brutalities does not, however, change so rapidly, although it may show itself in less material and in less brutal forms. White

men resident in Japan taught to the Japanese much of the handicrafts of civilization which they now possess. Where are these white men now? Would their presence be tolerated in industrial Japan for one little moment after they had outlived their usefulness, for one little instant after the Japanese themselves were competent to undertake the work? The Japanese is too patriotic to needlessly employ foreigners at the expense of his own people, but there are some Americans who would employ devils if they would accept a cent an hour less than angels.

When the War Is Over.

The Marquis Ito—and his name will be rightly revered as that of a great and enlightened statesman—attributed the foreign outbreak to the success of Japanese arms. If we may venture to translate this opinion into the American vernacular, we may say that the nation was suffering from a "swelled head." That was in 1899. Further successes have now crowned the Japanese army and navy. We need not necessarily anticipate further anti-foreign outbreaks upon that score, but we may certainly anticipate a calamity of another kind. America, and indeed all civilized countries, have experienced the after-effects of a war upon the labor market. Even after the Spanish War, and in a country so vast and rich as America, the employment of discharged soldiers became something of a problem, and San Francisco residents of that date will remember that some manifestation of public spirit was needed to guard from embarrassment those who had been fighting for their country. Japan has to-day a colossal army, of which the heroism has attracted the admiration of the world. But the war upon which that army is engaged will not continue forever—at least we hope not—and any day may see its conclusion. What will then become of those hundreds of thousands of men when the strings of discipline are cut; when the vessel of organization that now holds these human waters is broken? Even here in San Francisco the question of the employment of discharged soldiers became, as we have seen, a real one, and one that was fraternally, but not easily, solved. What will it be in Japan when her enormous armies of men seek once more an admission into civil life? The Japanese Government will, of course, do what it can, but who can question that thousands upon thousands of these men who have been wrenched by war from the grooves in which they were born and "educated" and who have seen something of the wide world, will restlessly set their faces eastward across the Pacific rather than once more settle down into the narrow life from which they have been called by battle?

A peaceful Japanese invasion after the conclusion of the Russian war is not only probable, but it is certain unless we learn in time to stem that disastrous flood. The progress of the war has itself shown the extent to which the Japanese has become animated by American sentiment. At the summons of his Government, at his Emperor's call to arms, we have seen him forsaking his occupation and his profits and hastening back to his place in the military ranks of Japan. Our admiration for his patriotism and his courage, however great that admiration may rightly be, must not blind us to the evidence thus afforded that America is not the home of the Japanese; that he does not so regard it, and that the claims of his fatherland are ever present to his mind and paramount over all other interests. The Japanese in Japan, fighting,

suffering, toiling for his country, is a spectacle so admirable that it has aroused the plaudits of the world. The Japanese as an alien, absorbing the emoluments that rightly belong to others, sharing in a civilization that he has not helped to create and that he does not intend to maintain is not so admirable. He has surrendered the virtues that were so distinctively his own and he not only inflicts an injury on the country of his momentary choice, but he is also the means of awakening a hostility to his own country which cannot fail of its damaging results.

We have already drawn attention to the deterioration in the character of the general immigration that now reaches our shores. That deterioration is even more marked in the case of the Japanese than it is elsewhere. Japan does not send us her best, but her worst. Her immigrants are not from those classes from which has come the clear call to Asiatic awakening, nor to any marked degree are they drawn from those sections of her people who have directed her progress into the paths of civilization.

Sends Worst to America.

In other words, the Japanese immigrant is in no way representative of Japan as she is to-day, but rather of Japan as she was before her cycle of advancement had arrived. Japanese immigration is made up of those who are unable to keep pace with their own people, who have been pushed upon one side by the rush of national advance and who have not the education nor the intelligence to readjust themselves to changed conditions or to find for themselves new positions in their own country in place of the ruts from which they have been pushed. Japan has sent us, not her fittest, but her unfittest; she has sent us the scum that has collected upon the surface of the boiling waters of her new national life, the human waste material for which she herself can find no use.

We could indeed wish for Japan no worse fate than to be judged by those of her people who seek our shores, however notable some few exceptions may be, and in indicating the fact and in giving to it all the publicity in our power we render no small service to the reputation of the island empire.

The report of the Industrial Commission upon Chinese and Japanese immigration says of the Japanese as found in California: "They are more servile than the Chinese, but less obedient and far less desirable. They have most of the vices of the Chinese, with none of their virtues. They underbid the Chinese in everything and are, as a class, tricky, unreliable and dishonest." Commissioner-General Sargent, on his return from Hawaii, spoke in equally unmistakable terms when he said: "All persons whom I talked with had the same view. They say the Japanese are tricky, lying and worthless as laborers and very undesirable as factors in the population. The universal opposition to the unlimited immigration of Japanese surprised me." To such quotations as these we would give no added publicity did they carry with them any reproach to the Japanese as a nation, but they carry no such reproach. Every nation has its undesirable classes, and it is the misfortune of the Japanese Government, and still more is it our own misfortune if it is these very classes that are attracted to California and to the United States in general.

MENACE TO FRUIT DISTRICTS

THE Japanese laborers have already proved a serious set-back to the fruit-growing districts of the State. In the Vacaville district they have driven out practically all the reliable white labor and now threaten the fruit-growers with a disastrous strike. One serious result of the Japanese influx in the fruit sections is the appearance of the "hobo wagon" and the undesirable class of white help. No other class of whites will work with the brown men. In Vacaville the natural progress of one of the most fertile sections of the State has been seriously retarded through the fact of the Japanese, who deal only with their own countrymen, taking the place of the whites, who contribute to general prosperity.

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 4th, 1905:

VACAVILLE, March 3.—The Japanese, having insinuated themselves into a position of practical control, are threatening the orchardists of Vacaville with a strike of enormous proportions and far-reaching consequences. With the passage of every day, which brings nearer the fruit harvesting season, the situation grows more acute. Not since the famous "drive" of 1884, when the conflict between the white and Oriental working population had to be quelled by rifles in the hands of the more conservative class of citizens, has public feeling reached such a pitch of bitterness. The situation, in fact, is critical, and a careful canvass of the growers and shippers of the valley fails to reveal a single one of any shade of political belief or grade of financial rating who does not regard the approaching months with anxiety, if not positive alarm.

The Japanese have an organization which is little short of marvelous, while white laborers and capitalists alike are unorganized. The Japanese make frequent threats and no infrequent use of the boycott, and in every instance so far have brought the recalcitrant ranchers to terms. Instances of violence and bloody scuffles between the white laborer and his little brown-skinned rival are not without precedent in Vacaville, but until recently the Japanese have remained for the most part docile and often servile, after the manner of Chinese. But at last they are beginning to realize their strength. Years of patient planning have put them into the position they coveted, to wit, dictators of the valley. They can do without the white man; the white man cannot immediately do without them.

The success of Japanese arms in the Far East has also tended to make them throw off the mask and assert themselves, and the white ranch-owners and shippers are beginning to realize that in dealing with Asiatic labor they have Orientalized their valley, driven out the better class of white labor and left themselves at the mercy of the Japanese, with his coolie system, his degraded scale of living and utter unscrupulousness of dealing.

There are many diverse opinions as to the proper course to be pursued, but the situation as described is acknowledged by all, even the Japanese themselves admitting that they have the whip hand over their former masters. This is in direct contrast with their deprecatory tactics of former years, and shows that they consider themselves intrenched beyond the fear of white competition. The fruit crop promises to be unprecedentedly great, and the feeling among the farmers is approaching that of panic.

"If we have to pay \$1.50 to \$1.75 for this wretched Jap help," said a prominent fruit grower

to-day, "where are we going to get our profits from, or where is the supposed saving in allowing the Orientals to come in here? If they make such demands—and I have reliable information that they are already being made, and at the beginning of the picking season will be universal—how are we going to refuse them? Good white labor will not come in here and compete with the Jap. As we are situated to-day, 50 per cent of the crop would rot if we had to depend on 'hobo help' and 'wagon tramps.' A man with several hundred acres of ripe apricots staring him in the face is not in a position to stop and haggle or argue about the price of a day's work."

Ex-Assemblyman W. S. Killingsworth, whose knowledge of the situation is intimate, owing to the prominent part he took in debating the labor problem during his term at Sacramento, says:

"I live in dread of this season, and I can form no opinion as to the ultimate outcome. There is no questioning the fact that the Japanese are thoroughly organized and in complete control of the labor proposition here. There is not a town in California which is more desperately Jap-ridden than Vacaville.

"If a people were ever cursed with a class of labor more worthless, more rotten and less to be depended upon than California is with that of the Jap, I have yet to find it in my travels from the Alpine glaciers to the Golden Gate. Until it is supplanted by the white labor now knocking at our doors, asking for admission, showing evidences of a willingness to come and identify itself with us, we will continue to knuckle to the demands of the Japs, who not only dictate the rate of wages and the length of working hours, but are becoming extensive renters of ranches. It is my opinion that, before another year has passed, the framers and supporters of the Chinese exclusion act will understand what a great mistake was made in not also excluding the Jap. Of the two evils the Chinese is by far the least.

"I predict that this Japanese interference with our public marts will reach proportions that eventually will be embarrassing to every line of business in the State. It is a well-known fact that in sections where fruit, beets and hops are the principal staple the Japanese invasion is something astounding. The Japs have almost a monopoly as laborers in the industries named. Why? Because they are so constituted that they will live on what the average white laborer throws to his dog."

The reading of Assemblyman Killingsworth's words naturally brings two questions to the reader's mind. First, what is the nature of the Japanese organization referred to, and second, why cannot the white labor from the various parts of the State and from the East be used at once to supplant the intolerable Japanese?

In considering these propositions in their order a few words based on a careful study of the situation in the rural districts in Northern California are necessary.

The Japanese organization differs from anything else to be seen in this country, being based upon the existence of what are practically slave laborers, who leave their destinies entirely in the hands of the Japanese overseer. If the Japanese who are working in the fields and vineyards of California were independent and ambitious individuals, striving for their own advancement, the Japanese question would not exist in the form which it now presents itself. But the fact is that the Japanese laborer, considered individually, is a mere coolie. The rate of wages is of no moment to him. He is not hired by the white ranch owner. He is merely the means whereby the Jap boss fulfills his contract to supply so many days' labor at such a figure. His name even is unknown to the rancher. In Vacaville one may go to any store in the Oriental quarter and buy labor as he would buy sausages. The Jap boss delivers the goods, f. o. b. the wagon bound for the ranch. He receipts for the check, and all that is expected of the laboring man is to do as little work thereafter as possible.

If the ranch owner objects, the coolies are called off and he sees his fruit going to decay. If he offends the Oriental powers that be, he finds himself the victim of a boycott, and the next time he approaches an employment agent he will be told with a grin that "boys all busy to-day," or that his Japship has no time to talk. Eventually, if he succeeds in contracting for a certain number of laborers, but half of them will be forthcoming.

"They do not come out plainly and declare a boycott," said a Vacaville merchant, whose former connection with the fruit-growing industry gives him authority to speak, "for that is not their way of doing things. With a Jap, everything is underhand. They will simply cripple the man they do not like until they bring him to terms. What they want to do is to get the ranch into their own hands. This is the most alarming feature of the situation. More than half of the ranches in this valley are to-day rented by Orientals. Five years ago such a thing was not heard of.

"The most remarkable thing about it is the amount of work which a Jap boss can get out of his men. Take the same fellows who have been loafing around the ranch for months, and let the boss get control, and you will see them working even on moonlight nights. By making trouble on the one hand and offering a good rental on the other hand, the Japanese are tempting rancher after rancher to sign over his interests into their hands."

Once having rented a ranch, the Japanese boss quickly banishes all the white labor that may have been employed there. There are but two places in the region white men can be seen working for an Asiatic, and in both of these instances the employer is a Chinese.

"White man do very well better than Jap," said one of these remnants of the former Asiatic invasion of Vacaville, when approached on the subject.

Any one at all familiar with fruit-growing can tell at a glance in riding through the country which ranches are controlled by white and which by Oriental overseers.

"The Japanese will not thin the fruit, cultivate the ground nor properly prune the trees after he has rented the ranch," is the universal testimony. They go in for immediate results, and if the fruit comes out small and inferior, they are content to cut it and dry it. When the land is deteriorated in value, the owner has to bear the loss, for the renter is at liberty to take over a fresh orchard. The most

rigid kind of contracts are now required by, experienced fruit farmers before they will let their holdings to foreigners, with detailed stipulations in regard to the thinning, pruning and cultivating to be done. But no contract has been found which will keep a ranch up which is in Japanese hands.

Even the renter is not an independent agent. He is but another cog in the wheel of the Oriental machine which is being run like a Juggernaut over the fair fields of California, crushing out the American characteristics of their population and converting them into so many suburbs of Tokio and Yokohama. As the day laborer is in the hands of the contractor, the contractor himself is in the hands of the money lender. One self-styled banker in the Asiatic quarter of Vacaville rents twelve ranches through his agents. Another controls no less than twenty through money advanced to the contractors. The entire policy of the Japanese population is thus controlled by a few men who work hand in hand with each other. To offend one Jap is to be at odds with the entire brown population, which, in the country districts, greatly exceeds the white population, and in Vacaville itself is in a proportion of about one to three.

* * "The difference between a Chink and a Jap," remarked the representative of a well-known packing house the other day, "is this: A Chinese will not help the American because he will not spend his money, preferring to send it home to China. A Jap will spend his money, but he will not spend it at a white man's store if he can help it. There is absolutely nothing in it for the merchant, and the 500 odd Japs who make up the permanent Asiatic population of Vacaville proper bring nothing at all into the avenues of trade. Their money goes eventually back to their native country, just as that of the Chinese does. In addition, some of the white man's money goes with it, for they are actually cutting into the white trade here."

A trip through Japtown will convince any one of this fact. Extensive laundries, large general merchandise stores and employment agencies elbow each other there. Three billiard saloons are crowded into one block. There is an ice-cream parlor and a bank. Everything which an Oriental heart could wish is on sale, and many things are there which cater to the Occidental appetite. In short, Japtown is a complete little city in itself, enormously large in proportion to the whole community, and built in true Oriental style, so far as the tiny proportions of the living apartments are concerned.

* * "The trouble is that most of the ranchers are not in a position to offer employment to a white man the year round," continued Assemblyman Killingsworth, when he had outlined the situation as quoted in the foregoing. "A Jap will take a job of pruning in the winter that a white man could not exist on, and decent Americans cannot afford to come here and hire out for a half season. The Jap is slowly but surely crowding out white help, and if the process continues he is going to force it out entirely. Every year more and more ranches are being rented by these aliens. Ranchers are every year becoming more and more afraid to run them themselves, for fear they will not be able to handle the crops without loss. In several instances the Japs have threatened their employers with a boycott at a critical moment. I know what I am talking about, for I ran up against the proposition many years ago. I hired white help—the only kind I could get were fully 50 per cent ex-convicts. I could not handle them, so I made up with the Jap boss. The presence of the Japanese immigrant keeps away the better class of native labor; there is no question about it. The Japs are a fixture here."

Instances of coercion are of frequent occurrence, though the sufferers are usually unwilling, for ab-

rious reasons, to say much about their troubles of this nature. To give an example: One fruit-grower sold his grape crop to a Japanese contractor. A dispute arose about a debt of \$50 which the Jap owed him. He attempted to collect it, but was given to understand that if he did so the "boys" would be too tired to work for him any longer.

Another case of recent occurrence was on a ranch some distance up what is known as the "Canyon road." The owner was told that he would have to pay \$1.50 instead of \$1 for Japanese labor after the beginning of the picking season, and that later in the year it would be advanced to \$1.75 a day. This

threat was unlike the usual mode of Asiatic procedure, but it accomplished its object. Rather than run the risk of a strike, the owner, who is located in a somewhat remote section of the valley, where labor is naturally more difficult to obtain, let his acres to his Japanese overseer. He will soon have the pleasure of seeing the largest crop in the history of the valley harvested by men who have thus engineered him out of the extra profits which he might otherwise have received from nature's phenomenal bounty. But he will live undisturbed by the dread of seeing his fruit rot because the "boys" are too busy to work for him.

...JAPANESE AND CRIME..

STUDENTS of social conditions agree that a large proportion of the crimes are committed by the idle classes—particularly by those people who have been forced out of work by changed conditions. The tramp element upon the Pacific Coast has always been large, owing to the introduction of cheap Asiatic labor. The recent increase in Japanese immigration has had the effect of largely increasing the number of tramps on the Coast, and has consequently had the effect of increasing crime to a very considerable degree. The Japanese themselves are quarrelsome, and the amount of crime through violence among the brown immigrants is large.

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," February 24, 1905.

WITH regard to the extent of Japanese influence upon the crime of the country, we must in no way be satisfied with a mere record of the crimes committed by Japanese. We must go further afield than this and consider to what extent the Asiatic immigrant is responsible for the crime that he does not himself commit. Now wherever we find a coincidence of phenomena we may reasonably search for some common and basic cause, and we may very properly argue that the Asiatic influx being coincident in time and locality with unusual crime is to some extent responsible therefor or connected therewith. This is precisely the view taken by the experts who testified before the Industrial Commission at Washington. We find a comparison between the criminality of San Francisco, Cleveland and Cincinnati, the last two cities being selected as containing populations similar in size to that of San Francisco. The comparison may well be reproduced here, and it is sufficiently startling to attract some attention. The following comparative statement shows the totals of arrests for drunkenness, burglary, grand and petty larceny and vagrancy in San Francisco, Cleveland and Cincinnati for the year ending June 1, 1899:

San Francisco	28,013
Cleveland	14,452
Cincinnati	10,612

For vagrancy alone there were 2836 arrests in San Francisco against 142 similar arrests in Cleveland and 504 in Cincinnati, and the report may well say that these figures can be accounted for in no other way than that the white toilers of the Coast have gone down in hopeless defeat in the unequal struggle with their Asiatic competitors. Equally true it is to say that the labor of a community is always degraded to the level of the lowest type with which it must compete. "American laborers may be hoboized; they will not be coolieized."

* * P. H. McCarthy, in his published testimony, says: "More tramps can be seen traveling along the highways and railways of the Pacific Coast states than in any other part of the United States that I have ever visited. The question is, What has made them tramps? That the unequal and unnatural battle which the white laborer of the Coast has been compelled to wage against his Asiatic competitor is directly responsible for this deplorable condition, I have not the slightest doubt."

During 1895 and 1896 California was suffering from unusual and severe depression. It was estimated that 15,000 white men were out of work, and the aggregate misery of these men, of their wives and of their children must, therefore, have been appalling. Yet during the whole of this time not fewer than 36,000 coolies were in fairly regular employment and earning money that would have dissipated this suffering like mist before a high wind. What wonder if a large proportion of these dispossessed white men should have started upon the dangerous declivity of hoboism? What wonder if others plunged at once into a career of crime? Cheap labor, like cheap money, is always the last to be out of employment. * *

The statistics of California hoboism and of crime are set forth in printed records for the edification of the world, and in order that other people knowing nothing of the cause, may make broad their phylacteries and rejoice in their self-righteousness. Such causes have prevailed almost since the dawn of California's history. First came the hordes of European immigrants, drawn by the smell of the crude gold, and these were tolerated because they could be assimilated. Then came the Chinese, and these did their fell work in precisely the same way that the Japanese are now doing a similar way. They drove—and for that matter are still driving—the white man from his workshop and his bench and his home, presenting to him the life of the tramp and sometimes that of the criminal as the lesser of two evils. And now come the Japanese,

more subtle, more dangerous than any, wearing the white man's clothing and learning the white man's language that in any and in every way they may flch from him, unobserved and unnoticed, his birthright of independence and of comfort. How many of those who read of Californian lawlessness know aught of its cause and of the creation of that lawlessness? How many know or realize that it is somewhat in the nature of a protest against the destruction of all those factors that have made America dominant in the council of the nations?

A glance at the rates of wages currently paid in Japan to the class of laborers that are most prone to emigrate will show how great is the inducement to forsake Japan for America. While to the majority of European immigrants to the cost of living in America is higher than that to which they have been accustomed, and while they readily expand their needs to their new possibilities, this is not the case, or is so only to a very slight extent, with the Japanese, who refuses to conform to American standards or adapt his life to his larger conditions, and who rather endeavors to force his new life into the penurious molds of the old. Observe the Japanese per diem wage:

Carpenters	\$ 26
Plasterers	26
Stonecutters	31
Paperhangers	24
Joiners	24
Tailors for Japanese clothing	18
Tailors for foreign clothing	18
Blacksmiths	36
Printers	19
Ship carpenters	29
Coppersmiths	29
Common laborers	19
Confectioners	17
Farm laborers (per month)	1 44

* * Let the Californian workman be wise in time. Let him study for himself the laws that govern wages, and he will then learn that the standard of comfort is the most potent of all forces that regulate the rates of pay. If he is confronted with a class of men whose standard of comfort is lower than his own one of two things must inevitably happen. Either his competitor's standard of comfort must be raised or his own standard of comfort must be lowered. The European immigrant, however poor, is usually tolerable because he is willing to raise his standard, or at least his children will be willing. The Asiatic immigrant intends at all costs to preserve his old standards and so to herd with his mates that such a result will be possible, and there can, therefore, be no other ending than that American wages must steadily fall until they approximate to the figures which are given above and which now rule in Japan. It is a dreary outlook, and would be still more dreary, but for the assurance that a remedy exists; a remedy that needs for its execution the same determination that has once before animated the people of California and saved them from submersion beneath Asiatic floods.

The immigration policy that produces results so direful, so destructive to the moral stamina of the community, can surely find no defense save from those whose mental and moral horizon is bounded only by self-interest of the crudest and most short-sighted variety. Of these there are, unfortunately, only too many representatives. California's annual yield of hops, for example, is something like 10,000,000 pounds, and 75 per cent of the labor involved is Asiatic, and principally Japanese. An inquiry into the causes that so favor the alien produces always the same reply: "It is cheaper;" although sometimes this is varied by a complaint of the "independence" of the American workman, which simply means that he lacks the fawning servility that is so agreeable to a certain order of mind that needs not be otherwise specified,

amenable to big profits than the state of freedom. The Asiatic gang system is, we are told, "far less troublesome," and the state of slavery is more this we can very well believe. We have, indeed, heard it before, and the dark heritage of degradation and misery that such arguments have produced ought to guarantee us against their repetition. Asiatic labor is not cheaper, inasmuch as there is a national profit and loss account, as well as an individual, and of this former the presentations come at unseen times and in unseen ways. The "profits" of Asiatic labor are paid out of capital, out of the capital of the Nation, which is made up out of the Nation's enterprise and courage and mutual goodwill and helpfulness, all of which are being sapped and drained in order that a few employers may be fawned upon by those who only await the power to turn and rend them, and indeed to evict them. All that we have at the moment to say, is that an insidious and subtle system of alien slavery, existing upon Californian soil to the detriment of Californian men, is not consistent with the story of the State, with its early ideals, nor with the domestic policy of this Nation. It must stop.

There seems, indeed, to be no lack of justification for describing the gang and the boarding-house systems as practically systems of slavery, and this is also the condition that is now offered to the American laborer as an alternative to hobboism or crime. To fathom the real inwardness of these pernicious systems is a task of very great difficulty and one that will perhaps never be fully performed. The Asiatic is essentially secretive and when he is conscious of offending against the sentiments of the community his secretiveness becomes as adamant as his powers of prevarication are phenomenal. * *

Field work is, however, but the first evolutionary step of the Japanese in America. It is but his apprenticeship, and by its means he learns a little of the language and a great deal of human nature as it is to be found in California. He learns to recognize the profitable niches of which the cities are full, and he gets into touch with his countrymen whose business it is to organize Asiatic labor into non-competitive ranks. Among the Japanese themselves there is no competition. They know far too much for that. The Japanese in the hop and beet fields is in the chrysalis stage. Very many have not the enterprise nor the intelligence to escape from that stage, but those who do so emerge make their appearance in the towns, generally permeating all trades and industries and saturating American life with the coolie spirit of the Asiatic.

* * Asiatic labor is not necessary to the agriculture of California, and those who say that it is necessary have their own unavowed reasons for their words. That such white labor as these men condescendingly employ is thereby placed on a level with the coolie hardly needs to be pointed out; but Mr. McCarthy says: "The fact remains that these men are employing Chinese and Japanese to the exclusion of white help and try to treat their white help in the same manner, placing them on a level with coolie labor. Should we submit to this? The rancher does not think that we have a right to live as he does. We are citizens of the United States, yet he treats us on a level with his coolie help, places us in a shed and does anything he likes with us. I have known some of the most honest and best citizens of the United States who, in order to accept the labor offered to them, were compelled to live on a level with Chinese and Japs. They are thus driven to be tramps and hobos."

We hardly need Mr. McCarthy's assurance that wherever an Asiatic laborer is employed there is necessarily a corresponding white man unemployed. In San Francisco there are less white men employed in proportion to the population than in any other

city of the United States, and we have already seen that California possesses more tramps and more criminals. What better evidence can be needed? The great industrial centers of other States have little or no difficulty in finding white men to do their work, and yet we are told that California alone cannot carry on her economic existence without the aid of Japan. Chicago employs in her stockyards over 60,000 men, but California in her fruit and beet fields must cry out for the Asiatic! The proposition is too absurd for contention. Nevertheless Chicago will herself find that the Asiatic is at

her doors unless she hears the warning from the Coast and makes common cause with the Pacific States. When the California employer has made up his mind to pay white wages for white labor there will be no lack of hands, and if the employer cannot so make up his mind he may be aided in that direction. The resources of civilization are not yet exhausted, and we may see the creation of a popular sentiment that will conduce neither to a good market nor to those illegitimate profits which seem to constitute his mental horizon and to be the price for which he sells his economic soul.

JAP IMMIGRATION COMPANIES

THE introduction of the Japanese into this country is a part of an immense system backed by almost unlimited capital in Japan. The immigrant is under contract with the company sending him here and is purely a contract laborer. He is recruited from the lowest coolie class but is always able to show the amount of money demanded by the immigration officials as evidence that he is not a pauper. This money, however, is not his own but is furnished him by the company and is taken from him as soon as he arrives at the boarding-house, which is a part of the system.

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," February 26, 1905:

VERY superficial inquiry will show that the Japanese boarding-house is a more extensive organization than a first glance would disclose. We cannot fully understand their functions until we bracket them with the immigration companies of Japan. No greater mistake could be made than to suppose that the ordinary Japanese immigrant has been acting upon his own initiative, and that his determination to confer upon the United States the benefit and benediction of his presence is due to his own personal energy or to his own personal and enterprising initiative. By no means. The principle of the personally conducted party has taken firm root upon Japanese soil, and the ingenious Asiatic has discovered that there is money in it.

The result has been the growth of an immense and intricate mechanism which takes the coolie by the hand, shepherds him, pains for him the trans-Pacific dysium that awaits him, shows him how he may break the white man's laws, breaks them for him when he is not clever enough to do it for himself, guarantees him against the ills of the flesh and promises him a safe return to his own country heavy with American gold and American wisdom.

There are in Japan four great emigration companies and numerous smaller ones that pick up the crumbs and the unconsidered trifles. These four companies are known, or were recently known, as the "Kosei Innan Kawaisha," the "Nihon Gashi Innan Kawaisha," the "Hiroshima Innan Kawaisha," and the "Kobe Innan Kawaisha." These companies have, of course, their ramification of agents throughout Japan who both create and gratify the desire for emigration. In the case of each emigrant a contract is duly entered into between the individual and the company, and the terms of this contract will not be without interest:

The Company will contract, accepting the request for transportation of, who is a free emigrant, having the purpose to land in San Francisco, North America, and to secure for him work there within the limitations prescribed by the immigration laws.

First—The immigrant shall perform everything that is needed for getting the passport and must be responsible for all expenses needed for the voyage, and should have the money which is necessary when landing.

Second—The maturity of the contract is three years from the date that the emigrant starts.

Third—If the emigrant gets sick or loses the means to get along,, the agent, will help him and provide him with the means to get back to Japan in case it is necessary.

Fourth—If the emigrant is sent back at the expense of the Japanese Government, the company shall pay all the expenses of the emigrant.

Fifth—The emigrant shall pay 10 yen to the company as its fee. If the emigrant has a child who does not exceed the age of 15 years, the charge for it will be half price, and if the child is not exceeding 10 years of age, he will be carried free of charge.

Sixth—The emigrant shall provide two securities to the company, according to acts 3 and 4 hereof, and they will be responsible for all of the expenses that have been paid by the company under the provisions of sections 3 and 4.

Seventh—The two securities are responsible in all the matters pertaining to the emigrant.

This contract is made in duplicate, one to the emigrant and one to the company.

Dated.....

Signature of emigrant.....

Signatures of sureties.....

The first clause of this contract, to the effect that work will be secured to the emigrant "within the limitations prescribed by the immigration laws," is, of course, a gracious concession to American sentiment demanded by the publicity of a printed document. It is certainly nothing more. To the ten commandments of the immigration law an eleventh has been added: "Thou shalt not be found out;" and it is only to this eleventh commandment that the immigration companies pay any heed.

* * The immigration companies are themselves wealthy and powerful. It is to their interest to secure as many emigrants as possible, and the result is, therefore, a foregone conclusion. The companies advertise very extensively for contract laborers for Peru, Mexico and other places, but, inasmuch as all geographical names are the same to the average Japanese coolie, so long as they indicate the magic destination of "America," we may reasonably suppose that the company has practically a free hand in the ultimate disposal of their clients. What that ultimate disposal actually is, we are painfully aware.

Anything in the nature of traffic in human beings invariably produces deception and treachery, especially where the human beings in question are so densely ignorant as is the ordinary Japanese coolie. The Japanese Government is by no means the only one that has endeavored to supervise the emigration from its shores. Many of the European governments have made the same attempt, but in every case they are circumvented by the ingenuity of migration agents.

The device of advertising Mexico and Peru as being in need of contract labor is too transparent to need explanation. With these countries we have no particular concern, but to any one acquainted with the immigration traffic it is very obvious that their names are used simply because no contract labor laws exist in those countries and they may, therefore, be safely used as a bait for illegitimate fishing.

* In the year 1899 the Commissioner-General of Immigration deputed W. M. Rice to visit Japan and to report upon the machinery then in operation for the deportation of coolies, and the extent to which that machinery constituted a violation of United States laws. Mr. Rice found that the machinery in question was of a very complicated nature; that it had grown to such dimensions as practically render of no effect the efforts of the Japanese Government to supervise the business, and that the net results were a very serious infringement of United States laws.

The managers of the companies included many prominent business men and statesmen, such, for instance as Mr. Suguwara, a member of Parliament and the editor of the Jimim, who had himself spent many years in the United States, and who was therefore conversant with its possibilities, and presumably with its laws. Others who were interested were found among the leading capitalists, and the business was clearly an extensive and profitable

one. And upon this combination of money and of intelligence the only check was a staff of inspectors, who were themselves practically of the coolie class.

With regard to the resultant violation of United States law, Mr. Rice is clear and definite. He says that he found but one universal opinion, that not 10 per cent of the emigrants leaving Japan could or would go unless they had assistance or were helped by persons of influence and that the inducements offered are directly responsible for the influx of Asiatic labor that we have so much cause to deplore. Mr. Rice further says that "owing to the conditions herein described the objects and purposes of the laws of the United States regulating immigration are largely defeated so far as related to emigration from Japan. It may readily be perceived that such an organized system, having its feeders among ticket brokers and hotel keepers joined by ties of interest, and from employment bureaus in Japan and on the Pacific Coast, and by reason of its capital and power able to coerce the steamship companies into dividing their profits, with a perfect system of coaching immigrants as to the requirements of the immigration laws of the United States, that the immigration officers here are practically powerless to hold back the influx of pauper and contract labor from Japan which is increasing year by year."

Now, the Japanese boarding-house keeper in America is supplementary to the immigration company. He is part and parcel of the same concern. The emigrants are consigned to the boarding-house, whose representatives meet them on arrival, house them, make them up into parcels of convenient size and deliver them to the consumer in batches of twenty-five or thirty. Their agricultural apprenticeship having been secured, the more intelligent among them drift from the fields into the cities with sharpened wits and throw themselves with renewed zest into the reduction of the white man's wages and the lowering of the white man's standard. Eighty per cent of the Japanese arriving in California are classified as farm laborers. Whether they are actually so there is no means to ascertain, but for such work no skill is required and it constitutes an admirable introduction to the more serious and the more remunerative labors that are to follow.

As is well known, the immigration laws require that each foreign immigrant shall show that he is provided with at least \$30 in American money as a guarantee that he shall not immediately become chargeable to public charity. Now, the pay of the Japanese farm laborer is about \$150 per month, but yet the fact remains that all of these new arrivals are able to display, certainly for the first time in their lives, the munificent sum of \$30. That they have saved this amount is incredible, but the problem is at once solved by the disclosure that the requisite capital is furnished to the immigrant by the immigration company, only to be promptly taken from him by the boarding-house keeper immediately upon his arrival.



THE PADRONE SYSTEM

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," February 27, 1905. (Editorial.)

If a person desires to employ a Japanese, or a thousand of them, he does not make contracts with the individual men, but with a Japanese contractor. This is no new thing in California, for our people were long accustomed to make such contracts with Chinese bosses. There is this difference, however: When the contract was made with the Chinese boss the employer knew that the work would be done precisely as specified in the contract, which was usually in writing. When we make a similar contract with a Japanese boss we do not know whether the work will be done or not. If the men can do better elsewhere it must be expected that the contract will be repudiated and a strike occur, so timed as to make acceptance of the revised terms unavoidable except at great loss.

This may be no worse than the "padrone" system, by which labor from Southern Europe is handled in New York. Probably it is not. We know, however, far less of the inner workings of the Japanese gang sys-

tem than we know of the relations of the newly arrived Southern Italian to his padrone. The chances are that the Japanese laborer gives his boss about as much trouble as he gives his employer. He is a thoroughly unreliable workman. But there is this difference between him and his Italian competitor, that in due time the Italian breaks away from his controller and sets up for himself. His children are educated in our schools and Americanized. They intermarry with their fellow American citizens, and their grandchildren have an even chance with our grandchildren to be Presidents of the United States. Gang contract labor is degraded labor under any circumstances. When the laborers are Asiatic coolies, wholly foreign to our civilization, without sympathy for our national ideas, retaining an unbroken allegiance to the land of their birth and with no intent or desire to adopt the American standard of life, their presence in great numbers is a menace to the stability of our society. If it be said that work is pressing and that no other labor is available, the answer is that no work is so pressing as to warrant the introduction of Asiatic coolie labor as a permanent feature of American life.

ILLEGAL NATURALIZATION

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," February 27, 1905.

WE have already seen something of the extent to which the laws are broken by Japanese immigration. That American laws should, however, be broken in the very courts of law themselves, and by the officials at those courts, will probably be something of a revelation. Such, it seems, is the fact. The report of the Attorney-General of the United States for 1903 contains a statement furnished by Special Examiner C. V. C. Van Deusen in which he plainly says that, notwithstanding the fact that the Federal statutes exclude from the rights of citizenship all persons except free white persons and those of African nativity and descent, the courts have admitted to citizenship persons not belonging to either of these two divisions. Mr. Van Deusen says that this is particularly true of courts on the Pacific Coast, which have naturalized many natives of Japan, and that the clerks of these courts still continue to accept from such persons declarations of their intention to become citizens.

Mr. Van Deusen concludes: "As several of these clerks have admitted to me the fact that they know that the naturalization laws exclude Japanese, their acceptance from these people of the naturalization fees brings them dangerously close to the penal

provisions of the statutes bearing upon unlawful practices." Surprise rather than comment seems to be called for by such a disclosure as this. What wonder that Japanese immigrants should snap their fingers at contract labor and alien laws when representatives of their race are able to go openly to the courts of justice, from which these laws are supposed to be enforced, in order to break other equally important enactments with the unconcealed connivance of officialism?

* * * We have already seen that the principle of trades unionism has found its way into Japan, and that the strike and the boycott are as well understood there as they are elsewhere. It would indeed be strange if it were not so. The power of combination is peculiarly and essentially Asiatic, and the sudden influx of Western thought that has done so much to shatter the lethargy of Japan has found her people ready to realize the force of combination and the advantages of organization. With unionism in Japan we have, of course, nothing whatever to do, except to express the hope that it may ultimately succeed in breaking the chains of serfdom and of caste that now seem to bind and strangle the lives of her common people.

It is, however, a very different matter when we find the same power and practice of combination and of organization transferred to American soil for the purpose of breaking down the standards of life en-

joyed by the American people. Japanese unionism in Japan may be in every way admirable, and we have no doubt that it is so. Against the principle very few thoughtful men will be found to contend; but the specific application of that principle by aliens, by Asiatics on American soil and against the American people is a very different matter, and one that constitutes a very grave danger against which the white workman has not only a right to protest but in presence of which he has no right to refrain from protest.

Whether or not the Japanese garrison in America is bound together by the formal documents, characters, rules and regulations of American trades unionism matters not at all. Trades unionism, combinations of all kinds, social economic and political, can exist without any of these things and have existed from time immemorial. Among illiterate peoples a verbal understanding, an understanding even without words, has a binding and an operative force to the efficacy of which written documents and signatures can add nothing at all. The Japanese who come to America are illiterate—notoriously illiterate—and we shall not therefore expect to find that the machinery of unionism exists among them in precisely the same formal way that we find among educated races. None the less, it exists, and with a cohesion as surprising as it is effective.

The Japanese in America are practically, as has been said, a Japanese garrison. Their imitations of white customs and of white dress are due in no way whatever to a desire for assimilation, but are assumed simply and solely for their own purposes and that they may more effectively carry out the duties of a garrison. They are a people apart, and they intend to remain so, and if they are willing for a season to sojourn in the land of Egypt it is only that they may return to their own country laden with the spoils of dollars and of education.

It is therefore obvious that their own mental attitude, which they themselves wish to be that of strangers in a far land binds them into a trades union which pits itself against and is in direct competition with the nation in which they temporarily lodge. * * *

The menace to the Californian workman is infinitely greater than the danger by which the English workman believes himself to be threatened. The Asiatic immigrant is not thousands of miles away in another country. He is here in our very midst, and his interference with employment and with wages is not a mere vague possibility, but an actuality and an accomplished fact. And yet the American workman has apparently very little to say, however deep his sufferings undoubtedly are. He holds no meetings in public or in private and he passes no resolutions. He allows the Government and his fellow-citizens to suppose that this is a matter upon which he holds no deep feelings and that the few voices that have already been raised are merely those of grumblers and malcontents, to which no particular heed need be paid.

Not in such ways do reforms come, nor the rectification of grievances. Wrongs are not rectified until they are recognized as such by the community at large, and this end can only be secured when these wrongs are presented in an audible and, if necessary, in a vociferous manner. The Legislatures will not fight battles for the workman if he is too apathetic to fight for himself; they will not remove barriers from his path unless he himself attacks those barriers. The American has a constitutional detestation of making a row, and it must be counted unto him for righteousness. But even virtues may be carried to excess, and so cease to be virtues, and the white men of the Pacific Coast have now to ask themselves what is actually their duty at the present crisis—not to themselves alone and to their wives and families, but also to the Nation to which they belong.

JAPANESE SWEATSHOPS

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," February 28, 1905:

IN discussing the question of Japanese exclusion, yesterday, W. V. Stafford, Commissioner of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics, said that a great deal of unmerited praise had been heaped upon the Asiatic for industry and endurance which he in no way possessed. Figures gathered by the Department show that the untrustworthiness of the Jap, as evinced by his proneness to change employers, is exceeded only by that of the negro, and that as a steady workman, the Chinese has his brown cousin beaten by about 9 per cent.

As to the skill and endurance of the Oriental, the Commissioner, whose official duties bring him into close touch with actual conditions, declares that they are inferior to those of the white. It is not on account of superiority of strength and cunningness of hand that the Jap is to be feared, but because he is unscrupulous in his dealings and without sense of pride or decency as to his surroundings.

"I will not stand for the idea that the white la-

borer can be worsted in the struggle for existence, even by the Japanese," continued the Commissioner, "for I think the American is the most able race on the face of the globe, and I am convinced that, individual for individual, he is more than a match for the Oriental. But do not misunderstand me as being in favor of Japanese immigration. In the long run the American laboring man will win out, no matter what the conditions, and whether forced to compete with the brown race or not, but it might be at the sacrifice of all that is best in him. The Government cannot afford to let her citizens demonstrate their ability to live under conditions made necessary by contact with the Asiatic.

"I would never be willing to concede that a white man has not as good staying qualities as any other. If forced into it he could go into the struggle for supremacy with any race whatsoever and come out victorious, and when he has nothing but empty pockets and a pair of blankets he is not going to stop to theorize. But the country has not yet arrived at that pass which makes necessity the taskmaster, and if California allows such competition

as is afforded by the Japanese to become the rule within her borders the better class of Americans from other parts of the country are simply going to back away. No ambitious man will bring his family to the Coast when he knows that he will have to meet Japanese competition. Already the number of Asiatics out here is being advertised, and even exaggerated, in other parts of the country."

Commissioner Stafford described in detail the conditions existing here in San Francisco. The Japanese have already done much to rob labor of its true dignity, as may be seen from the following narration bearing upon certain Jap sweatshops, of which the city is full:

"In this city," said Stafford, "you may find basements where as many as forty Orientals work at sewing machines on the better class of ladies' dress goods, silk waists, etc. The machines are as close as space will allow. The walls are curtained off, and behind the curtains are tiers of bunks. In one corner—I have a particular basement sweatshop in mind—is a huge cook stove and all of the kitchen paraphernalia. The workers eat and sleep and toil in this basement. They work fourteen hours a day and make what they consider good wages. Now, how can we expect a white girl to compete with these conditions and retain any spark of womanhood?"

"The situation of domestic labor is particularly affected by Asiatic Japanese competition, though the argument is, of course, advanced that it is impossible to get responsible servants, and that the right kind of women do not enter into domestic

service. But with them, as with the men, their conduct is tinged with results due to competition with the Oriental.

"A very peculiar condition presents itself in this connection. A separate and distinct scale of requirements is maintained by employers. Less is asked of a brown man than of a white woman. A mistress who would strenuously object to a girl servant going out two evenings in a week would never dream of trying to prevent her Japanese servant from making his regular visit to the Asiatic quarter as soon as he is through with the dinner dishes."

Speaking of the effect of Oriental immigration on agricultural conditions, Commissioner Stafford observed:

"If there is a scarcity of agricultural labor in California, and there undoubtedly is during the fruit season, there are plenty of Americans in the East. If the Oriental hosts were to be eliminated we would soon see the well-to-do farmer and orchardist building cottages near their homes for their employees and families. Such a state of things exists elsewhere, even in the better parts of Europe. If realized here, especially considering our superior climatic advantages, it would secure us a regular supply of help, and the American laborer would eventually be able to acquire a holding of his own. With changed conditions, due to irrigation and fruit-raising, we are rapidly approaching the time when our farmers and orchardists will need help the year round. I have no doubt, from my own observation, that the class of farmers who are willing to treat their servants with proper consideration is rapidly on the increase. But real improvement is impossible so long as we have Oriental competition."

JAPANESE AND WOMEN

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 1, 1905.

MALIGN as has been the influence of the Japanese upon the men workers of the Pacific Coast, the effect of their competition upon the women workers has been still more disastrous. Under their influence female domestic help has well nigh disappeared from our midst. Their cruel competition is thus felt by the most helpless class in the community, the women and the girl wage-earners. Women are not able to help themselves or to protect themselves to the same extent as men, and they are therefore peculiarly easy victims to the Juggernaut of Asiatic advance.

Women have not the power of combination, nor of mutual helpfulness, or only to a very modified degree, and their resistance to Asiatic aggression has therefore been feeble and ineffective. The status of women is not perhaps a matter in which the average politician is keenly interested. The laurels of place and of power do not usually await the champions of women, and their protection is not a mile-stone upon the road to political fortune. None the less, every intelligent and disinterested reformer knows well that the status of women is the index of civilization, and that the economic system that brings distress into the ranks of women, or allows such distress unnecessarily to enter, is either itself doomed or must be the doom of the nation to which it belongs. There is no need to enlarge upon the certain moral results

that must follow the displacement of women from the labor ranks of the State. Those results are as obvious as they are distressing, and they must inevitably initiate a general and rapid deterioration of communal character from which recovery must be slow and painful.

When the social history of America is written in the light of a true perspective—and that time has not yet come—the dominance of the Nation will not be ascribed to this or that political platform, to this or to that policy, but rather to the influence of its women and to the position that they have won for themselves in national guidance and direction. Every nation of the world is to-day spelling out its fate and fortune by the extent of the honor in which it holds its women. The women of America may yet constitute an unconquerable force in the national advance, and whatever tends to their degradation, to an enhancement of the difficulties that beset them, is an ax laid to the roots of American life. The Japanese in the cities are even more the competitors of women than they are of the men, and, although this particular aspect of the danger may be largely inconspicuous and voiceless, it is none the less real, none the less threatening.

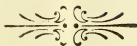
Of the status of women in Japan we have, of course, nothing to say. This is a matter for their own domestic regulation, and we can only hope that they will give to it their heedful attention, and that speedily.

We have, however, a strenuous objection to see that status introduced visibly into American life, and the columns of the daily newspapers show the extent to which this is being done. Within the past few weeks, for example, we have read of marriages by photograph and of the arrival upon this Coast of women who have been so married. To speak of such a ceremony as a marriage at all is, of course, a concession to less conveniences. It would ordinarily be expressed in a manner less polite and more forcible. That such proceedings should be openly attempted upon Californian soil shows the assurance that has been bred from immunity and the unclear influences that have been allowed to creep into our midst.

That is, of course, but a beginning, and its extension may well be a matter for some apprehension. There is another Japanese custom which immemorial

age has exalted to the height of religion, and to which they will certainly cling for many years to come, even if it is not altogether ineradicable. We refer to the right of parents to sell their daughters for shameful purposes and the filial obligation of the daughters to submit. Perhaps this will be the next importation from Asia, if, indeed, it has not already made its appearance. These things are indications of the status of Japanese women of the lower classes, and we are not, therefore, surprised to read of the revolting, cruel and shameful punishments sometimes inflicted upon the Japanese work girls in the modern Japanese factories.

We do not wish, nor do we intend, to see the Asiatic status of women introduced into America, nor can we tolerate the practices that are born from that status.



♦ ♦ ♦ ETHICS VERSUS ECONOMICS ♦ ♦ ♦

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 1, 1905 (Editorial).

CLERGYMEN naturally subordinate all other considerations to what they believe to be correct ethical principles. Newspapers are compelled to deal with human affairs as they actually exist. It is not to discredit or undervalue the ethical principle to recognize the fact that there is an easily reached limit to the strain which it will endure. When the economic pressure becomes strong enough men fight for the means of subsistence. Perhaps if men were what they should be, or what clergymen earnestly strive to make them, this would not be true. Being what they are, it is entirely true. The number of those who will go hungry that others may eat is so small as to be negligible. In the very last extremity men kill and eat each other. The strife for survival is as fierce among men, when dire necessity excites it, as among the lowest forms of animal and vegetable life. It is the duty of clergymen to ameliorate this strife by constant appeals to our higher and nobler nature. It is the duty of society to foresee and prevent the occurrence of situations and conditions in which human beings are compelled to fight in order to live.

The Methodist ministers of the city are inclined to take issue with the "Chronicle" as to its position that there is no room for Japanese labor on American soil. That is natural enough. The training of clergymen virtually makes it impossible for them to see, or to realize when it is pointed out, that the noblest applications of the ethical principle are those which, having regard to the welfare of the entire human race, look forward to the future in the light of the past, and endeavor to so shape the destiny of mankind that occasions of deadly warfare shall not arise. This can never be accomplished if one insists upon taking such measures as might well be taken if men were ethically perfect. The only ethics which are useful as applied to great masses are those which recognize the imperfections of human nature. A benevolent person may safely, and perhaps wisely, bring a blood-thirsty savage into contact with a kindly gentleman because he has the power of society to prevent the commission of injury, and the savage may be uplifted from savagery by wholesome association. But to bring a great mass of Japanese workmen into contact with great masses of American workmen, in the expectation that the Japanese will thereby become better men—which is virtually the argument of the clergymen—is recklessly and savagely immoral, because those masses will be too strong to be controlled. It is playing with fire in a stack of tow. We respect the motives of the criticising clergymen. We have no respect whatever for their judgment as expressed in their recent discussion. They must think harder and go down deeper until they discover the real root of the ethical principle, which they will find thriving most mightily in the deep soil of economic content.

ACTION BY LEGISLATURE

AS evidence of the fact that there is practical unanimity of opinion with regard to the evil influence of the Japanese immigration in its present and increasing proportions is to be cited the adoption of resolutions by a unanimous vote of the California Legislature, calling upon the State's Representatives in Congress to urge the passage of a Japanese exclusion law. As a result of the crystallization of public opinion, largely by reason of the timely agitation of the "San Francisco Chronicle," a concurrent resolution asking Congress to give the needed protection from the Japanese influx was introduced in the State Senate by E. F. Woodward, of Santa Rosa, on March 2d, and immediately passed by that body without a dissenting vote. The following day the same action was taken by the Assembly, also without a dissenting vote. The resolution was later backed up by personal statements from the members of both houses, giving sound reasons for their action. These statements were published by the "Chronicle" in its issue of March 6th. The resolution follows:

"Whereas, The constantly increasing immigration of the subjects of the Japanese empire into the Pacific Coast States and Territories, and particularly into the State of California, has become and is now a serious menace to the well being and prosperity of those States and Territories, and particularly to the people of California, demanding the taking of immediate steps looking to the stay thereof; and, whereas, it is well known and generally recognized and acknowledged that, among many other facts and reasons justifying an apprehension of great danger, because of the growing and threatened invasion of our State by Japanese immigrants, the following are capable of exact proof and do exist:

"First—That the Japanese laborers, by reason of race habits, mode of living, disposition and general characteristics, are a wholly undesirable and unsatisfactory addition to the population.

"Second—That the Japanese laborers are debarred from naturalization and cannot, if they desired, which they do not, become citizens and thereby assume the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship.

"Third—That the Japanese laborers do not evince any inclination to assimilate with our people or to become Americans. They remain as they came—Japanese—and, possessing no regard for republican institutions, continue to consider themselves subjects of the country of their nativity, and look only to the time when they may be able to return.

"Fourth—That the Japanese immigrants now crowding to our shores are as a class, and with few exceptions, contract laborers, obligated to serve long periods of labor for small wages, and thereby and as the result of such conditions our communities are being filled with a servile class of laborers which exists in a state of slavery in substance and effect, if not in name.

"Fifth—That the Japanese laborers are not hired individually, but in gangs, and from a contractor who has entire control of the services, and who, by the terms of the obligation under which they are brought to the country, is enabled to furnish them at such places, in such numbers, for such times and at such wages as may be agreed between the contractor and the employer.

"Sixth—That the contractor for Japanese labor, by reason of the favorable terms of his agreement, is enabled to and is accustomed to supply Japanese laborers wherever required in this State at rates which do not supply a white man with the common necessities of life, much less enable him to provide for his family or to educate his children.

"Seventh—That the Japanese contract laborers have already gained control of numerous branches of industry in this State, and by reason of the low rate of wages paid for their work have forced all white labor therefrom, and they are constantly crowding into other avenues of labor and driving our own workmen from occupations to which they have been accustomed and from which they have heretofore gained a livelihood.

"Eighth—That the Japanese laborers will within a brief period, unless their immigration be limited in some reasonable degree, occasion great distress and misery to the white laborers of the State by depriving them of the opportunity to secure work at wages sufficient for support.

"Ninth—That the Japanese laborers do not employ any of their earnings in the building up of the communities wherein they may for a time reside. They are mere transients, coming only to do the particular work for which their contractor has agreed to furnish them, and going at its completion to another place to which they have in like manner been allotted. They do not buy land for homes; they do not build or buy houses either for business or home purposes. They contribute nothing to the growth of the State. They add nothing to its wealth and they are a blight on its prosperity and a great and impending danger to its welfare.

"Tenth—The labor troubles in Hawaii have caused great numbers of Japanese laborers such as have been hereinbefore described to make their way to this State, until now not less than 500 each month are landed at the port of San Francisco; and while the present rate of increase in the immigration is sufficient to justify the fears which are justly entertained of the disastrous results to flow therefrom, we cannot but regard that the close of the war between Japan and Russia will surely bring to our shores hordes to be counted only in thousands of the discharged soldiers of the Japanese army, who will crowd this State with immoral, intemperate, quarrelsome men, bound to labor for a pittance and obliged to subsist upon a supply with which a white man can hardly sustain life.

"Resolved, By the Senate, and the Assembly concurring, that we, as the representatives of the State of California, do urgently and strongly ask and request, and, as far as it may be proper, demand for the protection of the people of this State and for the proper safeguarding of their interests, that action be taken without delay, by treaty or otherwise, as may be most expeditious and advantageous, tending within reasonable bounds to limit and diminish the further immigration of Japanese laborers in the United States.

"That our Senators and Representatives be, and they are hereby, requested and directed to bring the matter to the attention of the President and the Department of State.

"That the Governor be requested to forward a copy of the foregoing preamble and of these resolutions to the President and the Secretary of State."

THE VOICE OF LABOR

THERE can be no question as to the stand of labor upon the matter of Japanese immigration and its evil influences. The San Francisco Building Trades Council, comprising some 60 unions, with 30,000 members, all white workmen, has adopted resolutions inviting the various labor and civic organizations of the city to join in a convention for the formation of an Anti-Japanese League. Other labor organizations have taken pronounced stand in the matter.

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 10, 1905.

WARNING against the peril that lurks in unrestricted Japanese immigration was sounded last evening at the meeting of the Building Trades Council of San Francisco. This is the representative central labor body of this city, composed of delegates from about sixty unions of skilled mechanics with an aggregate membership of 30,000. Secretary Tveitmooe introduced resolutions inviting the San Francisco Labor Council, the City Front Federation, the several associations of employers, the improvement clubs and all civic bodies in this city to meet in convention for the purpose of organizing an anti-Japanese league, and calling for the circulation of petitions for signatures requesting the Board of Education to exclude all adult Japanese from our public schools.

The resolutions met with general favor in the council, and many stirring speeches were made by delegates in favor of speedy and effective measures to avert the danger which threatens the whole country from such an influx.

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 10, 1905.

Resolved, That the Building Trades Council of San Francisco invite the San Francisco Labor Council, the City Front Federation, the several employers' associations, the various improvement clubs and other civic bodies in this city to send three representatives each to a convention, for the purpose of organizing an anti-Japanese League.

Resolved by the Building Trades Council of San Francisco, That the secretary be and is hereby instructed to prepare a petition and circulate same for signatures requesting the Board of Education of the City and County of San Francisco to exclude all adult Japanese pupils from our public schools.

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 4, 1905.

At a largely attended meeting of the Building Trades Council held last Thursday evening, the subject of Japanese invasion was discussed and the following resolution introduced by Secretary O. A. Tveitmooe was on motion unanimously carried, adopted by the Council: "Resolved, That we again renew our emphatic protest against the national policy, laws and treaties which allow the Japanese to enter our ports in unlimited numbers to the great detriment of our citizenship, our standard of living, and the progress of American civilization, and be it further

"Resolved, That we do hereby heartily indorse the action of the California State Legislature which directed the Governor to call this important question to the attention of the President of the United States, with the urgent request and demand to the State Department and Congress, that existing treaties be so amended and such laws enacted as will forever effectually exclude the undesirable and

dangerous emigrants from the Mikado's empire from our country, in a like manner as those that have been successfully invoked against the immigration of Chinese, and be it further

"Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to President Theodore Roosevelt and Secretary of State John Hay, and our Representatives in Congress."

* * The following resolution was unanimously adopted at the regular meeting of Local Union No. 58, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen:

"To the San Francisco Labor Council:

"Whereas, We recognize the prominent part taken by the representatives and members of your honorable body at Sacramento in procuring necessary labor legislation; and

"Whereas, The Japanese invasion of the labor market of this city and State is a serious menace to the prosperity, comfort and moral condition of our working people; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we earnestly request the Labor Council to take such steps as it may deem necessary to promote agitation of this question among the unions of this city and State by resolutions and mass meetings if necessary, for the purpose of strengthening the hands of our representatives in Congress and impressing upon them and all other representatives the necessity of passing adequate exclusion laws, and that the agitation be kept up until the object is attained."

The council referred the communication to the law and legislative committee, with instructions to frame a resolution on the subject and submit it to the council at the next meeting.

San Francisco Lodge No. 68, International Association of Machinists, at its last meeting, adopted resolutions indorsing the course of the "San Francisco Chronicle" in its effort to stem the tide of the influx of Japanese, which threatens the welfare of the American mechanics and wage-earners.

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 6, 1905:

At the last regular meeting of San Francisco Lodge No. 68, International Association of Machinists, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, The rapid and unrestricted immigration of Japanese and Mongolians to the United States and its insular possessions is becoming a menace to the American laborer and mechanic; and, whereas, the continued influx of this class of immigrants will ultimately result in the lowering of the standard of living of the American mechanic and laborer to that of the Japanese and Chinese; therefore,

"Resolved, By San Francisco Lodge, No. 68, International Association of Machinists, that we request Congress to pass an effective exclusion law prohibiting the immigration of Mongolians to the

United States or its insular possessions, and, further,

"Resolved, That we request all unions to pass similar resolutions and to use their influence to have Congress pass such an exclusion law; and,

"Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be given to the public press."

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 9, 1905:

Will J. French, president of the Labor Council, president of the Printing Trades Council and president of the local Typographical Union, is especially fitted to discuss the subject of Japanese immigration, as he has devoted much of his life to the study of industrial questions, and has always been known as a clear and logical writer on subjects pertaining to labor in all its ramifications. The following letter has been received by the "Chronicle" from Mr. French and will be read with interest by those who know his ability to get to the heart of things. His letter follows:

"The question of Japanese immigration has lain dormant too long. It has been proved that the 'little brown man' possesses none of those attributes that help make up the integral of American citizenship, and that he is sadly wanting in the ideals on which our Government is founded. The 'brown peril,' therefore, assumes national proportions.

"The Japanese are opposed, naturally, by the wage-earner. The cheap man is ever a menace to the American household. Without home ties in this land, accustomed to methods of living that are repulsive to us, with a system of morality that has no attractions to a civilized people, wanting in the virtues of truth and honesty, the Japanese do not 'assimilate' with a white race in anything, perhaps, but their clothing. The trade unionists view with the same alarm that their fellow-citizens do this influx that has moved silently in the night until we are amazed at the numbers scattered throughout the State of California and from Pacific to Atlantic. Any factor that has a tendency to lower the standard of living rendered almost compulsory by modern conditions is to be deplored. Certainly the Japanese are a menace to all that our citizenship implies.

"There is no doubt of the invaders' patriotism, but, unlike other people, they are egotistical in the extreme under the changed conditions that prevail in the land over which floats the Stars and Stripes. They are not a concomitant part of the whole, for their environment and customs and color have set them apart as a nation peculiar to itself. The 'jingo' spirit is shown by the discourtesy—nay, dislike—exhibited in Japan to foreigners. Travelers tell of brutality and of the unmistakable signs of a desire to exclude all other nations save alone the moneyed tourist. The cunning of the commercial spirit is here evidenced, and the intolerance of any but their own is at variance with the principles of twentieth century progress. To imagine such a people assimilating with the American Nation is as visionary as Hamlet's ghost.

"The Japanese who have landed on this continent, speaking generally, are herded like so many slaves. It will be granted that many bright graduates have left our universities for their native land, there to enlighten and educate their fellows, and that all the Japanese in our midst are not of the poorer classes, but the fact remains that the padrone and contract systems control the vast majority. To see these

groups of brown men tagged and shipped to interior points is a common spectacle. Their appearance indicates too well that the overtures from Washington to the Mikado were sorely needed; that we receive those who do not constitute the best. Plainly the advantage is all on the side of Japan. Our contract laws are violated with impunity. No redress seems possible until the American people awaken to the peril of the land whose national flower has no perfume. We maroon as an undesirable citizen an intelligent bank clerk, and deport him, because of alleged violation of our contract laws, and yet tens of thousands of semi-slaves are permitted to threaten our national life and pour into the State from every available point without the slightest attempt at restriction.

"It is a short-sighted policy to imagine that the industries now employing Japanese in large numbers will be eventually benefited by such a course. We see this illustrated in the fruit industry. The brown men are acquiring the vices of their new surroundings. Blue Monday is not unknown to them. As gamblers they have a record of which they have no reason to be ashamed. The rancher is almost entirely at their mercy. An unexpected hot spell may ripen the luscious fruit and necessitate immediate picking and packing, but the help is by no means sure. They are likely to refuse to work another minute after the 'Jap bell' rings, regardless of consequences to the fruit-grower, who sees his perishable product placed in jeopardy by such refusal. Other vocations are finding the Japanese unreliable. The fact that they are 'cheap' may appeal to the corporations, but the concern of all is imperiled by such a view. The standard of our life cannot be measured by the Japanese yard stick.

"What a terrible indictment is contained in the following words of War Correspondent James F. J. Archibald: 'In Tokio I have seen natives making Remington typewriters and Singer sewing machines. I have seen them putting the name "Maxim" on field guns. I have seen them fixing to a dynamo of well-known pattern the legend, "Made in Schenectady," with a carefully engraved list of the dates of all the patents under which the genuine machine is produced.' What a travesty on commercial morality! And what a menace to the employer and employee of the United States!

"It is unnecessary to refer to Japanese morality—or rather want of that virtue—as shown to our citizens. To be just, we may allow any claim that it is not typical of the nation, but it is undoubtedly true of the class of Japanese familiar to San Franciscans.

"We find the Japanese cheap as laborers, branching out in innumerable callings in our cities to the exclusion of the Caucasian, and yet very dear to our common weal. They are unreliable, intolerant of us at heart and in their own domain, flocking to our shores by the tens of thousands without anything more than verbal protest, and to classify them as 'undesirable immigrants' is to use a figure of speech inadequate of the occasion.

"The 'brown peril' is here. The 'Chronicle' is to be commended for taking up the issue—the protection and not the degradation of American homes. Some years ago steps were taken to crystallize sentiment against the invasion, but the persistency and opportunities of a daily newspaper were lacking at that time. The citizens of our land—the wage-earners, the employers, the representatives of corporate wealth who look ahead—recognize the importance and imperative necessity of rigid Japanese exclusion laws."

JAPANESE IN SCHOOLS

From the San Francisco "Chronicle," March 5, 1905.

THE status of women in Japan and the light in which women are regarded by the ordinary Japanese immigrant, suggests another aspect of the Asiatic question which has already from the San Francisco Chronicle, March 5, 1905, aroused some amount of attention, but for which, it is needless to say, the obvious remedy has not yet been forthcoming. We refer to the education of the Japanese in the public schools of the State. There can be no question that the facility with which American education can be obtained is to a great extent responsible for the invasion that we deplore, and if these facilities were somewhat curtailed—that is to say, if the schools were reserved for the purposes for which they were intended—there would be a resulting and wholesome discouragement to Japanese immigration.

Now the reasons that have induced the American Nation to inaugurate the most perfect educational system in the world are clear and definite. They arise from the intelligent perception that education is essential to good citizenship, and it is in order that American citizenship may gravitate upward toward ever higher and higher levels that the public schools have been nursed into the position they now occupy. But these schools were not intended to train citizens for other nations; they were not intended for the education of aliens, whose steadfast intention it is to remain aliens, nor were they established for the purpose of imparting the mysteries of the English language to those whose only use for that language is commercial competition.

* * We are well aware that Eastern schools have the same difficulties to contend against and that the children of polyglot Europe are to be found wherever the high tidal waves of European immigration have reached. But between these children and the Japanese pupils there is an enormous difference. The labor of teaching English to German, Scandinavian and Italian children is labor spent in the manufacture of good citizens. That is to say, it is labor expended for the precise purpose for which that labor was ordained. But by the education of the Japanese that labor is expended for purposes entirely outside the scope and the intention of American educational activities. It is energy misdirected and money diverted. Not only does the Nation reap no harvest of benefits whatever, but such education constitutes a positive sowing of tares of which also there will be a harvest, but not of the kind we shall be inclined to welcome.

This is, however, by no means a complete statement of the evil inflicted. The Japanese pupil is not only mentally nourished on food that does not belong to him and to which he has no right, but he is depriving American children of the advantages designed for their benefit. In the first place the efficiency of the class is much weakened by the presence of pupils who do not speak English, and

in the second place American children are actually excluded from the schools of which the accommodation is insufficient for so large an influx to Asiatics.

Precise statistics do not seem to be available, but a careful estimate made some six months ago showed the presence of over 1000 Japanese pupils in the schools of San Francisco alone. Without doubt this number has now been considerably increased, while the total for the whole State would certainly be formidable. The amount of labor thus thrown upon the shoulders of the teachers can be imagined only by those who know the anxieties of the profession and the added difficulties caused by pupils who are unfamiliar with the language. * * There is, however, still another aspect, perhaps the most serious of all. We have refrained from speaking of the Japanese pupils in the public schools as children, and for the very good and sufficient reason that a large number of these pupils are not children, but adults.

Now, it may be at all times questioned whether it is wise to educate children in company with adults, and many educational authorities strongly deprecate the practice. America does not, of course, exclude adults from the benefits of her schools, and it may be that in the case of white adults the resulting benefits are greater than the resulting injuries, and that the balance is therefore upon the right side.

But the question is entirely changed by the fact that these adults are Asiatic. Under such circumstances there can be no question which way the balance lies and that a very grave danger may result from the daily contact of young girls with adult men of Asiatic birth and training. If we once more repeat that we make no reflection whatever, upon Asiatics as such, it is because we would be above the suspicion of prejudice. It is sufficient to say that an Asiatic is—an Asiatic, and therefore with Asiatic views, tendencies and laxities that the white man views with concern and apprehension.

The white man does not wish his children to be inoculated with Asiatic views upon the subject of women; he does not wish his daughter to associate with adult Asiatics who believe that the status of women is intended by Providence to be a low one, or with Japanese men who believe that a marriage may be contracted by an exchange of photographs. It may be said that school life contains no opportunities for such inoculation, but upon that point our views are somewhat definite, as must be the views of all who remember their own school days.

There is such a thing as mental and moral atmosphere, although it may not yet have been weighed and analyzed by the chemist, and the mental and moral atmosphere of the adult Asiatic is sometimes not such as we wish to pervade our schoolrooms. It must, moreover, be remembered that the average Japanese pupil does not belong to the Samurai caste, but rather to the coolie, and while American ideals have no room for caste as such, the caste that implies a habit of thought and of morals is very worthy of consideration.

HORDES OF JAPS COMING

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 7, 1907.

A PERSISTENT rumor to the effect that certain transpacific steamship companies were making arrangements to bring large numbers of Japanese immigrants to this Coast is verified by an Associated Press dispatch received last night from Honolulu. The invasion will begin March 25th, when the steamer Centennial, belonging to Charles Nelson & Co. of San Francisco, will leave the islands loaded with little brown eolies. These will be dumped upon Californian soil to further spread the malignant disease of Orientalism which already infects us.

During the Spanish-American War, the Centennial was credited with a carrying capacity of 680 troops. The dispatches say that she is under contract to make monthly trips, and from this the hordes of Japanese laborers she is preparing to bring us can be readily computed.

Wonder is often expressed at the immense numbers of Japs to be found in this State, compared

with what could be seen a few years ago. But when a single vessel, like the old, half water-logged Centennial, can increase our Oriental immigration by 7200 a year, and never make a trip when she does not carry within eighty of her capacity, wonder may well give place to alarm.

Less than a month after the Centennial clears from Honolulu, namely, on the 18th of April, another steamer, the Olympia, owned by the Oriental Trading Company, is to leave the same port, loaded with the same brand of undesirable human cargo for the Pacific Slope. The tonnage of the Olympia is about equal to the Centennial's, and it may be presumed that her running schedule will not differ greatly from that of the other vessel. The yearly 7200 thus becomes 14,400, making a moderate estimate of the possible damage, reckoned in individual Japs, which threatens us from a single port. This leaves out of consideration the transportation facilities heretofore existing, and make no account of other sources from which the yellow flood is pouring in upon our territory.

JAPS IN THE SHOE TRADE

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 12, 1905.

THAT the Japanese problem is ripe for settlement there can not be any question whatever. It would have been well for California as a State, and especially for San Francisco as a city, had it been settled long ago before its roots had sunk so deeply into the soil of commercial life; before it had so strongly disturbed the sensitive barometer of wages and employment.

Some attempt has already been made to show the intricate machinery that has been devised to control Pacific Coast trade in the interests of the Asiatic. The extraordinary cohesion that exists among the Japanese invaders and the perfection of their organization have been indicated, and it has been pointed out that their trades unions are none the less trades unions, and most efficient ones, because they lack the democratic character that distinguishes the labor organizations of America. The American union governs itself, while the Japanese union is governed by a boss whose functions range from those of a slave driver in the case of the eolie laborers to those of a capitalist in the case of the mechanic and the skilled workman.

Of these facts some considerable evidence has already been furnished, but it may be well to clinch the rivet by citing a definite instance of a trade that has thus been passed under the harrow and of which the fate is an illustration of the various processes of Japanese combination. It will also serve as an example of the treatment meted out to other trades, and if it be also recognized as a prophecy of what still awaits the remaining industries of our cities, the purpose that we have in view will be doubly served.

The trade in question is that of boot and shoe repairing, and it may be something of a revelation to many to know that in San Francisco alone there are nearly 200 establishments owned and operated by Japanese. This, of course, means that a precisely corresponding number of American skilled workmen have been dispossessed, that wages have been lowered throughout the whole industry and that an American organization has been disorganized and discouraged. These are serious matters, and they become still more serious when we realize that the Japanese boot and shoe repairers practically constitute one single trade unit, and that their calamitous activities are directed and governed by one brain and in one interest.

It seems that there is in Japan a certain capitalist named Nishomura who had amassed a fortune in the boot and shoe trade and whose factories were numerous throughout the whole country. Practically controlling the trade in Japan, he sought for further fields to conquer and naturally decided that the conditions in America were precisely adapted to alien trade invasion. His emissaries arrived forthwith in California and the Japanese boot and shoe repairing industry, as we now find it in San Francisco and elsewhere throughout the State, is practically the property of the Japanese capitalist, controlled by him in every detail and governed with that paternal solicitude under which the Asiatic thrives and grows fat, but which the self-respecting white man could not tolerate for ten minutes.

The method of Nishomura and others of his type—and they are increasing and multiplying in the land—is simplicity itself. The new man who wishes to do business in San Francisco applies, in the first place, to the representatives of the Japanese capitalist and indicates the location in which he would like to settle.

If this location would involve competition with some other Japanese tradesman the application will be refused. There must be absolutely no competition except with white men. If it seems, however, that no competition with his countrymen will ensue the application is granted, a fee of \$25 is extracted, as well as 50 cents per week for sick benefits, and the new shop is opened.

No matter how small it may be it will be a combination of workshop and bedroom, and a roughly hung curtain will be the division between the two. The wants of the Japanese are "few and simple," as we have already seen, money being the chief among them. He has neither wife nor family, and so long as his bedroom is just a little bigger than he himself he can still call his life a luxurious one, compared with the conditions from which he has come.

The Japanese capitalist has, however, by no means finished with him. In addition to his regular contributions to the union he must purchase all his trade supplies from his commercial godfather. At first these supplies were bought in the ordinary manner from the local dealers, but that Japanese money should be allowed to enter American pockets was in every way contrary to the guiding commercial spirit of that interesting nation, and a Japanese establishment for the supply of trade material was accordingly opened, so that no money whatever might leave Japanese channels after it had once entered them. The country, the laws, the customers and the competitors were all American. The profits alone must be Japanese.

The next step is to furnish the shop owner with a Japanese apprentice in order that the process may not languish for the lack of human raw material. As soon as the apprentice is taught the rudiments of his trade he is started on his own account with his own shop and his own apprentice, and so the game is played in ever-widening circles and to the ever-increasing profit of the capitalist and precisely commensurate loss to the American.

The Japanese repairer will always work for a little less than the white workman, who has his own union and his own standard of prices. The result is that the white man in his desperation, and perhaps with thoughts of his wife and family, is finally tempted, and indeed compelled to depart from union prices and union rules, and his organization is at once threatened with dissolution. The 200 Japanese repairing shops flourishing in San Francisco to-day are alike witness to the success of the

marauders, as well as to the patience of the white man, under a provocation which long ago reached a point where patience ceases to be a virtue.

This Japanese success was not, however, won without an effort at self-defense. In 1903 Mr. Gallagher, of the Boot and Shoe Repairers' Union, issued an appeal to the public with a view to enlisting its sympathy against a competition as unjust as it was un-American. Some portions of that appeal are reproduced here, inasmuch as it may yet be instrumental in touching the public conscience and arousing public support.

Extracts from the appeal follow:

"We have in our State and city a class of objectionable shoe repairers who have of recent years opened shops in our midst which are liable to become disease-producing spots equally as bad as those established by the Chinese. The little brown man from Japan, like his cousin from China, has no respect for the health laws of our land. Each shop is made the habitation of as many as they can crowd therein. The establishment of these shops is a detriment to the American people, because they are under the control of a trust having its headquarters in Japan and operated entirely in the interests of a wealthy Japanese by the name of Nishomura, who controls 1000 shoe firms in Japan and is now making an effort to control the shoe-making and repairing business of the Pacific Coast.

"Unlike the white shoemaker, who makes his home in the country, rears and educates his family in accordance with American institutions and spends his money in the community in which he resides, a Japanese acquires all the money possible and is then compelled by the trust, which controls him, to remit a large percentage of the money he secures to the headquarters in Japan. Each one of those Japanese shops established in our midst deprives an American citizen of the means of making a livelihood, and has a tendency of forcing him into questionable pursuits, and he becomes either a pest to society or a burden to the taxpayers. Therefore for these reasons we appeal to you, if you have been patronizing the Japanese, to in the future refrain from doing so and patronize those of your own race. By complying with this request you are protecting your own interests as well as those of the white shoemakers, because if the Japanese are encouraged they will soon enter other branches of trade and perhaps be in direct competition with yourself. Let the slogan be that the Japanese must go."

Now the facts that we have cited in regard to the boot and shoe trade are representative of the conditions that threaten many another trade and many another industry. The remedy that they demand must be sought for if it is to be found. It will not come uninvited, and it will be the reward neither of apathy nor of complaisance. The California workman must formulate his demands and he must express them in season as well as out of season, and he must express them in such a manner that there may be no question of his earnestness nor of his determination.

It is not a matter only for such trades as have been already attacked, but for all trades, because there is not one among them whose turn is not approaching. Had Mr. Gallagher's efforts received the support to which they were entitled in 1903, an immense amount of American money that is now in Japan would be in American pockets and distributed throughout the whole community.

How much longer shall we tolerate this depletion and endure an unmitigated evil that could be ended at once by one united and expressed sentiment?

NOW BEFORE GOVERNMENT

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 3, 1905 (Editorial).

THE position of the "Chronicle" that the increasing Japanese immigration is a social menace so grave as to require immediate steps looking to its prohibition has been sustained by a unanimous vote of both branches of our Legislature. This is not the result of popular excitement, for there is no excitement, and we sincerely trust there may be none. The Japanese now here are lawfully in this country and are entitled to the equal protection of our laws, but it is the deliberate judgment of the people of California that further immigration of Japanese must cease. The matter having been thus officially brought to the attention of the Federal authorities, they will either act on our request or they will not act. For the present we assume that our request will be given the serious consideration which it deserves. Should opposition develop, the people of California feel confident of their ability to pursue the discussion with such directness and pungency as will make it impossible to evade the fundamental issues involved. The discussion should be kept wholly free from passion—or any other form of human emotion.

It is possible that it will be set up that prohibition of Japanese immigration will create enmities which will interfere with our influence in "world politics," which is but another name for world markets. That

might be unfortunate. But our interest in the economic and social welfare of our own country is so immeasurably more important to us than any conceivable influence and advantage to be acquired elsewhere in the world that we may concede all that may be claimed as to trade injuries resulting from Japanese exclusion without in the least weakening our argument.

Such injury could only result from the enmity of the Japanese Government leading to retaliatory measures. Such things might occur. All that can be said is that we freely concede to Japan the same rights in regard to its territory and its domestic regulations which we possess over our territory and our domestic regulations. Whatever Japan may do as to these matters she will have the right to do, and we must govern ourselves accordingly. Whatever Japan may do, we insist that Japanese immigration shall stop. But while, for argument sake, we concede all these things, we see not the least reason for so much as a ripple of international unfriendliness resulting from a Japanese exclusion act. Japan must recognize, as we do, that the two races do not get on well side by side. There is no more intelligent government on earth than the Japanese, nor is there any reason why it should not cordially enter into reciprocal arrangements with our own Government for avoiding friction by keeping the two races apart. America for the Americans and Japan for the Japanese is a most excellent motto which both countries might properly adopt. And we can trade with each other internationally as now, in mutual friendship and to mutual profit. But Japanese immigration must cease.

NEVADA TAKES ACTION

WARNED through the agitation begun by the "San Francisco Chronicle" of the danger from the incoming hordes of Japanese, the Nevada Legislature has duplicated the action of the California lawmakers. An Assembly joint resolution was passed by both bodies of the Nevada Legislature by a unanimous vote. The resolution reads as follows:

"Resolved, by the Assembly, the Senate concurring, that our United States Senators be in-

structed and our Congressman requested to use all honorable means in Congress, and before the proper departments of the general Government, to prevent the unrestricted immigration of the Japanese into the United States.

"Resolved, further, that the Governor be requested to transmit a certified copy of this joint memorial and resolution to the President of the United States, to each of our United States Senators and to our member of Congress."

...DANGER TO FREEDOM...

WALTER MACARTHUR of the Seamen's International Union, who has made an exhaustive study of the Japanese situation, is of the opinion that even graver danger arises from a continuation of present conditions, when the subject is considered as a race problem, than when it is viewed from an economic standpoint. While firm in the belief that further introduction of Japanese laborers means the reduction of wages of American workmen, he declares the greatest calamity would come from the introduction of a servile people as a dominant factor in even one productive sphere, and that the final result would be the loss of the Nation's position as a free country.

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 20, 1905

"THE further introduction of Japanese laborers means the reduction of the wages of the American laborer," is the conclusion reached by Walter Macarthur of the Seamen's International Union, after an exhaustive investigation of the subject. He believes that yet graver dangers present themselves when the question is considered as a race problem than when it is looked at merely from the economic standpoint. According to this view, were the Japanese no menace to the native wage earner industrially he would still be an undesirable immigrant.

"No race which is bred with that idea of life which characterizes the Jap," said Macarthur to a "Chronicle" interviewer, "can ever assimilate with the people of this country. It would be a calamity if it did, for intermarriage between the Mongolian and the Caucasian would produce nothing better than a beast of burden. The danger confronting us is a racial one even more than it is an economic one. The introduction of an element which can never be absorbed as an integral part of our civilization is sure to bring calamity.

"The character of a nation is finally determined by the character of its workers," Macarthur continued, "and a nation is free only so long as those engaged in its industries are actuated by the instincts of freemen. The externals of freedom may be attacked and even destroyed, but so long as the idea of independence and self-respect exists in the individual citizen, the country will remain essentially a free one.

"The character of the United States will remain the same so long and only so long as its people retain the characteristics of freemen. To the extent that the freemen worker is displaced by members of a servile race, the freedom of the country is destroyed, although the forms of freedom may remain intact. Thus, should it happen that all or a considerable part of the labor of the nation, say in agriculture, were performed by a coolie class, we would have a coolie nation that is, a nation governed by coolie conditions and fed by coolie labor. In effect, we would have another coolie India, composed of a governing class and a governed.

"The American would degenerate into the 'poor white' of the new industrial regime. To maintain the freedom of a country the freedom of its workers must be maintained, and that can only be done by the maintenance of free labor.

"These views constitute, in part, the grounds of

my opposition to a Japanese immigration to the United States.

"The first Jap appeared on the Coast in the capacity of a seaman. The earliest record on the subject bears the date of 1888, in which year the Ship Owners' Association manned several vessels with Jap crews. The prophecy was then made that unless abandoned by those responsible for its introduction, the menace of Jap labor would ultimately force itself upon the attention of the whole people.

"The 'Chronicle' of June 13th, 1891, noted the arrival in San Francisco of one Chester A. Doyle, a former resident of Japan, who proposed to import 5000 Japs from the Hawaiian islands. The protest of the Federated Trades Council was met by Doyle with the statement that that body could only talk, a statement which, unfortunately, was only too true at the time.

"The Tacoma Ledger, in the latter part of 1891, reported the arrival at Victoria, B. C., of a large number of Japs, who were put to work in the Union mines, owned by Dunsmuir, Stanford and Huntington. This was the entering wedge.

"Shortly after the Hawaiian revolution, the presence of large numbers of Japs in the islands was first brought to the notice of the American public. At that time the Japs in the islands numbered 23,000. A correspondent of the Coast Seamen's Journal, then resident in Honolulu, declared that the next revolution would eventuate when the thick-skinned Jap learned his power. The same paper, noting the continual employment of Japs on American vessels and the serious trouble that frequently occurred at sea, said:

"The number of Japs, Chinese and other heathen employed in the naval and merchant services is rapidly involving the whole nation in danger of the snickersnee.

"The agitation against Japanese immigration, which had been spreading slowly but surely for a number of years, crystallized in a grand mass-meeting, held in Metropolitan Hall, in this city, on May 7th, 1900. The principal speaker of the occasion was Prof. A. E. Ross, at that time a member of the Stanford University faculty. That gentleman's remarks are well worth consideration at this time."

The words of Prof. Ross referred to were in part as follows:

At this critical moment, when it is to be settled if America is to have what no other nation has ever had, namely, a common class permanently earning more than a bare sustenance, is our hope to be blasted, our endeavor frustrated and the mass

of common law precipitated back into the pit of woful slavery by the invasion of cheap labor from the Treming Orient?

The root of our objection to the Japanese immigrant is not that he is brown. What American labor objects to is exposure to a cheap man. The coolie cannot outdo him, but he can underlive him. He cannot produce more, but he can consume less. The Oriental can elbow the American to one side in the common occupations, because he has fewer wants. To let this go on, to let the American be driven by coolie competition, to check the American birth rate in order that the Japanese birth rate shall not be checked, to let an opportunity for one American boy be occupied by three Orientals so that the American will not add that boy to his family, is to reverse the current of progress—to commit race suicide.

Shall we allow the process of uplifting the common man to be defeated? Shall we suffer the work already done to be nullified? Shall we look idly upon this competition of the high-grade man and the low-grade man and allow the survival of the unfittest to proceed unchecked? We entertain no enmity and cherish no designs against the trans-Pacific peoples, but we are resolutely determined that California—the latest and loveliest seat of the Aryan race—shall not become the theater of such a stern struggle for existence as prevails throughout the Orient.

Perhaps the most significant expression of public sentiment discoverable in the history of the discussion was uttered during the session of the Chinese exclusion convention, held in this city November 21st and 22d, 1901. As will be remembered, that gathering was semi-official in its character, having been called by the Board of Supervisors. Present were representatives from the city and county governing bodies, civic and reform institutions, labor organizations, et cetera. The main feature of the convention's business was the adoption of a memorial to Congress urging the re-enactment of the Chinese exclusion act, then about to expire. However, a very strong sentiment prevailed in favor of a demand for the extension of the act so as to prohibit Japanese immigration. On this point, the Coast Seamen's Journal of that date said:

Not the least assuring feature of public sentiment on this question is the very general agreement on the point that any exclusion act, to be really effective, must embrace the Japanese and all other classes of Asiatics. There appears to be no dissent from the contention that the Japs are at least equally as obnoxious as their yellow compatriots from the mainland of Asia.

The Japs are in every particular more to be feared than the Chinese. Assuredly the time will come when heroic steps must be taken for protection against them. If it shall require a campaign of education to exclude them, the time to open that campaign is now, when its corollary is before the people. The friends of American as opposed to Asiatic labor should stand to their guns for a complete and effective measure of protection.

In a subsequent issue the same paper voiced the popular views in the following words:

That the people of California desire such an extension of the exclusion act is beyond doubt. The proofs of that sentiment are at hand. Six months ago the San Francisco Labor Council inaugurated a movement for the re-enactment of the exclusion

act. It circulated a petition throughout the State asking for the extension of the act to all territory under the control of the United States, and for the exclusion in perpetuity of all Asiatics. That petition has already received many thousands of signatures, and it has been indorsed by many national and state labor organizations.

The circumstances confronting the convention dictated the elimination of the Japanese question from the memorial to Congress, but only on the ground of temporary expediency. As a matter of principle, the delegates recognized the importance of the Japanese question, and so declared themselves. After an exhaustive discussion in committee, the following resolution was presented to the convention and unanimously adopted:

Whereas, We recognize in the character and rapidly increasing numbers of Japanese and other Asiatic immigrants a menace to the industrial interests of our people; and, whereas, we believe that the time has arrived when cognizance should be taken of this condition; therefore, be it

Resolved, By the California Chinese Exclusion Convention that the question of Japanese and other Asiatic immigration be referred to the executive committee of the convention, with instructions to devise and pursue such steps as may be necessary and advisable to secure all possible protection from the evil.

The latest formal expression of organized labor upon the subject under consideration is contained in the following resolution, adopted by the American Federation of Labor at its convention held in this city in November, and which has since been ordered printed by the Labor Council and distributed for indorsement among the various unions of San Francisco:

Whereas, The menace of Chinese labor, now greatly allayed by the passage and enforcement of the Chinese exclusion act has been succeeded by an evil similar in general character, but much more threatening in its possibilities, to wit, the immigration to the United States and its insular territory of large and increasing numbers of Japanese and Korean labor, on the grounds, first, that the wage and living standards of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in the United States, prove destructive of the American standards in these essential respects; secondly, that the radical incompatibility as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States, presents a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our own favor, and which can only be thus solved by a policy of exclusion; and whereas, the systematic colonization by these Oriental races of our insular territory in the Pacific, and the threatened and partly accomplished, extension of that system to the Pacific Coast and other Western localities of the United States, constitutes a standing danger, not only to the domestic peace, but to the continuance of friendly relations between the nations concerned; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the terms of the Chinese exclusion act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all classes of Japanese and Koreans, other than those exempted by the present terms of that act, further

Resolved, That these resolutions be submitted, through the proper avenues, to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body.

..JAPANESE AT HOME..

JAPAN is overrun with hordes of half-famished laborers, accustomed to live upon 2-cent meals, to work eleven hours a day, and to do many things that in this country are delegated to animals. Edward Rosenberg, an expert investigator, was appointed by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor to make a complete investigation. After traveling extensively in the Orient he says that Japanese immigration means not only the stopping of all progress in America, but the extinction of Occidental standards, if not the extinction of the American workmen themselves in those parts of the country which become infected with the brown plague spots.

Rosenberg visited the mills, the factories and the fields of Japan. He talked with laborers, with employers and with Government officials. His information was gained at first hand, and he saw with his own eyes the scenes he describes.

From the "San Francisco Chronicle," March 17, 1905.

EDWARD ROSENBERG, who, as special commissioner of the American Federation of Labor, made an extended tour of the Orient to investigate the labor situation there, believes that California is liable to become a dumping-ground for cheap, unassimilable Asiatic labor. He declares that the conditions in Japan are such that the free entry of its people in to the United States means not only the stopping of the progress of the working classes in the invaded centers, but their practical extinction. He found the masses of the people working for a few cents a day, enduring excessively long hours of labor and subsisting upon the poorest of foods.

The abolition of feudalism, while it has worked wonders for a few of the aristocracy, has done nothing for the commonalty, who are to-day poorer than ever before. The future promises to see the flood of immigration greatly increased, as conditions in the Orient are changing only for the worse, so far as the wage-earners are concerned.

From Rosenberg's investigations it appears that in Japan men are driven and horses led—a purely Oriental state of affairs, which gives the lie to half of the fine stories of the island empire which are being repeated by unthinking hero worshipers, who would have us believe that the Japanese have accomplished in fifty years what it took the Anglo-Saxon many centuries to achieve.

The commissioner found that the wealthy classes were adopting the customs of the European races, but that the common people were in no position to emulate them, being forced to live upon rice, barley and vegetables at a cost of 2 cents a meal. Nevertheless, the rich Jap, at his 50-cent table d'hôte dinner, considers himself a full-fledged leader of civilization.

"Since 1870, the year feudalism was formally abolished in Japan," says Rosenberg, "there has been a great advance on military, industrial and educational lines. With that advance, however, the improvement in the conditions of the working people has not kept pace. Modern methods of industry and machine production have so far brought no benefits to the toilers. From the fields and the little shops, where, even if they worked long hours, there were no driving taskmasters, the toilers are being sucked into the great modern factories where the machines automatically do the driving. In these factories the hours of labor are long and the pay pitifully small. As Japan has a population of

about 45,000,000 on its area of 148,724 square miles, only 11 per cent of which is arable land, the rapid introduction of machine labor and consequent displacement of hand labor is causing considerable hardship."

EAGER TO COME TO AMERICA.

From this cause arises the eagerness of the Japanese coolie to come to America. The extraordinary awakening of the nation from a military standpoint has not been accomplished with a proportionate amelioration of the lot of the common people. Industrial necessity is pinching the rank and file of the Japanese nation, notwithstanding the honors being conferred upon their flag. Rosenberg believes there is before the population of the Sun-rise kingdom a period of great and prolonged suffering. During this time the pressure of the tide of immigration upon American shores may be expected to become correspondingly heavy.

"On my way from Osaka to Tokio," he continues, "I had a lengthy conversation with T. Nakahashi, the president of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha, a steamship company capitalized at \$2,250,000 and owning seventy-six steamers. He was emphatic in his statements that the organization of labor on Western lines is impossible at present. He said: 'Any attempt to do so would fail, the population of the country being so dense that the places of strikers could be quickly filled.'

"My observations in Japan incline me to the belief that there is considerable truth in the opinion that there is ahead for the working people of Japan an era of great and long suffering, just as in the last decade of the eighteenth century the English workers suffered great hardships when machine production was revolutionizing English industry and the workers lacked the organization of labor necessary to successfully demand a fair share in the nation's industrial advance.

FEUDAL SPIRIT STILL EXISTS.

"The spirit of feudalism—blind obedience to the lords and rulers—is still strong in Japan in spite of its formal abolition thirty-five years ago. That obedience for centuries has been strengthened by the religious systems of Japan—Buddhism, with its teaching of calm trust in fate, and Shintoism, which stands for loyalty to the sovereign. What little effort is being made toward the improvement of the condition of the Japanese workers at present is on political lines. A few members of the House of

Representatives, men belonging to the learned professions, have been elected upon their promise to advocate in the Imperial Diet reforms in the interest of the workers.

"What a delusion such efforts are the history of the industrial conditions of Germany and France for the last fifty years proves. Japan will have to learn the lesson that only through the organization of labor on trades-union lines can any important economic reforms be gained by the workers.

"These observations are timely and of special interest to the American workers, for with the increase of machine production in Japan—which for many years to come will itself bring increased suffering among the Japanese workers—there will be a stronger and stronger desire to emigrate, and the United States will be the dumping-ground of this cheap and non-assimilative Asiatic labor unless exclusion is resorted to.

SIGNIFICANT STATISTICS.

"The following statistics merit serious consideration: The Hawaiian census of 1896 gave 24,000 Japanese in those islands. The United States census of 1900 shows that this number had risen to 61,000, an increase of 37,111 in four years. It can be safely stated that the present number of Japanese in the islands is in excess of 70,000.

"What the Japanese have done in lowering the wages in California, Washington, Oregon, Montana and Idaho is well known to the working people of these States. How the Japanese in the Hawaiian islands have invaded all callings and trades, driving the native Hawaiians into destitution and the Caucasian workmen out of the islands a future article will demonstrate.

"Wages paid in Japan are as follows: In the Temma weaving mills at Osaka, the country's industrial and commercial center, where 100 men, 380 women and 120 children are employed, men receive from 11 to 30 cents, women from 7 to 20 cents, boys from 6 to 9 cents and girls from 3½ to 6 cents for a working day of 11 hours. The engineer is paid \$15 a month, his assistant 23 cents a day, and the firemen from 17 to 20 cents. The mill was built fifteen years ago. There is one attendant for each 100 spindles and one weaver for every two looms.

"The Osaka Cotton Mills Company, employing 3500 people, pays about the same. Wages are reckoned by the day and not by the piece.

At the Osaka paper mill, employing 200 men and 150 women and children, the chief engineer receives \$50 a month and his assistant \$23. Men receive from 17 to 50 cents and women 10 cents and children 7 cents for an eleven-hour day.

WAGES IN BUILDING TRADES.

"Longshoremen are paid 20 cents and sailors from 15 to 25 cents a day, while mechanics in the building trades are paid from 35 to 50 cents for ten hours.

"At the works of the Kisha Seizo Goshi Kaisha, a manufactory of locomotives, cars and structural iron, from 500 to 700 men are employed. Iron molders receive from 25 to 30 cents a day of ten hours; machinists, blacksmiths and boilermakers from 30

to 50 cents and woodworkers on railroad and electric cars from 32 to 60 cents. At the Osaka shipbuilding works the same wages prevail.

"At Tokio, whose population is 1,333,256, wages in the building trades are the same as at Osaka. At the shipbuilding works a few of the best mechanics in each department receive as high as 75 and 90 cents a day. Good journeymen receive 48 and 50 cents. The superintendent, a Japanese who has spent several years in English shipbuilding yards, stated that Japanese boilermakers on small rivets equaled the output of English boilermakers, but on large ones they reach only 80 per cent in proficiency. At these works 900 men are employed. There is no organization among these workers to deal with hours and wages.

"At the close of 1901 Japan had 3854 miles of railroad. Of these the Government owned 949 and private companies 2905 miles. Engineers on Government roads receive from 30 to 80 cents a day and firemen average 25 cents for ten hours. Conductors are paid from \$5 to \$10 a month, but do not collect or stamp tickets, that being done at the station gates. Brakemen receive from \$5 to \$7 a month, and telegraphers from \$5 to \$10. Unskilled railroad laborers are paid from 15 to 20 cents per diem. Private companies pay from 10 to 35 per cent less.

"Agricultural laborers receive 17 cents a day.

NO SUNDAY IN JAPAN.

"There is no Sunday in Japan. Factory workers, however, are given a day off every ten or fourteen days. There is no uniformity as to rest days among the factories. The cost of living is cheap and the standard low for cheaply paid labor. The wealthy classes, however, are rapidly adopting Western food and cooking, which is utterly beyond the reach of the workers. For instance, at the Osaka Hotel a good lunch of several courses, prepared in European style, costs 1 yen—that is, 50 cents. The worker's meals cost from 2 to 5 cents. Rice, barley, vegetables and fish form the staple articles of diet for the toilers.

"In the cities of Japan the jinriksha is the main vehicle of passenger transportation, and Japanese may be seen trotting in the shafts for hours at a time. Draft horses, with the exception of a few used at Yokohama in American drays, are not driven, but led by men who walk ahead. I was asked at Tokio by one of the Liberal members of the House of Representatives to give my opinion on the present status of Japanese labor. I answered: 'In Japan men are driven and horses led. Before you can lay just claim to be classed among the advanced nations of the world your workers must rise above the state of draft animals.'

"The conditions of labor in China and Japan at present are such that, to permit their peoples to enter freely any part of the United States means the stopping of progress, means retrogression and ultimate extinction for the people now living in such parts. It is best for the people of China and Japan not to have a small fraction of their population go to other countries and stop the progress of such countries. It is best for China and Japan to copy and not to hinder the progress of the Caucasian race."

...VOICE OF THE PRESS...

San Rafael Independent, March 14, 1905.

The brown man is a menace to our prosperity, and we must close our doors against him. The sooner this is done the better. We admire the stand taken by the "San Francisco Chronicle." The paper is fearless in its attack upon the brown man, and it should be commended for it.

The Jap must be excluded from our country at any expense.

Oakland Enquirer, March 13, 1905.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" is doing a great service to the State and Nation in trying to close the gates against the Japanese invasion before it is too late.

Angels Record, March 11, 1905.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" is now making a fight against the large number of Japanese coming into this country. This is a matter of vital interest, not only to the workmen of California, but to the entire people of the United States, as it means that in the very near future great danger to the wage-earners of the whole country will result unless restrictive laws are quickly framed for the exclusion of this class of cheap labor. The labor unions will undoubtedly support the "Chronicle" in its fight against the Japanese invasion, as it is to their interests to do so.

Oroville Mercury.

Instead of "the Chinese must go," the cry "the Japanese must go" is steadily gaining ground. Anti-Japanese clubs will soon be numerous in California. The people cannot begin too soon to fight this new danger to California.

Red Bluff People's Cause.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" is doing a great service to the State and Nation in trying to close the gates against the Japanese invasion before it is too late.

Covelo Review.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" has taken up the fight for Japanese exclusion, and every day has convincing articles that cannot help showing the great harm that the unrestricted immigration is leading to. The Japanese may be all right in their place, but their place is not in the United States. We already have one great race problem, and do not wish to have any more.

Vacaville Reporter.

The Japanese question at the present time can undoubtedly be handled without serious injury to the fruit industry or any one engaged in it, but if immigration is allowed to continue unchecked the harm which will result cannot be foretold, and in the end this Government will be obliged, for the protection of its citizens, to enforce an exclusion act. Would it not be wiser to take steps in that direction now and avoid much tribulation?

Richmond Daily Record.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" is conducting a great agitation looking to restriction of Japanese immigration. There is really no more excuse for admitting the Japanese than the Chinese to this country. They are both an injury and a menace to the welfare of the American workingman. They do not assimilate with our civilization, and in the support of any of our public institutions they count a blank. They are coming in at a wonderfully increasing rate, and there certainly should be some limitation established.

Fresno County Enterprise.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" is doing a good work in advocating the restricting of Japanese immigration to this country. The time has come when something should be done along this line. Conditions are quite as deplorable now as when the people of the Pacific Coast arose en masse against the influx of the Chinese. The proposition is one that needs immediate attention. Our policy has always been "America for Americans," but the Western tendency to-day is to favor foreign labor. This is wrong, and the wrong will never be righted until the influx of foreign labor is properly restricted.

